THE DAILY WORKER RAISES THE STANDARD FOR A WORKERS AND FARMERS' GOVERNMENT

THE DAILY WORKER

Entered as Second-class matter September 21, 1923, at the Post Office at Chicago, Illinois under the Act of March 3, 1879.

5 CENTS Including Saturday Magazine Section. On all other days, Three Cents per Copy.

Vol. II. No. 81. SUBSCRIPTION RATES In Chicago, by mail, $8.00 per year. Outside Chicago, by mail, $6.00 per year. SATURDAY, JUNE 21, 1924 290 Published Daily except Sunday by THE DAILY WORKER PUBLISHING CO., 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill. Price 5 Cents

McDONALD, BOUCK HEAD TICKET

Will Fight the Campaign On Militant Platform

STRONG MEN ON FARMER-LABOR COMMITTEE

These Leaders Insure Aggressive Campaign

By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL.

ST. PAUL, Minn., June 20.—Duncan MacDonald and William Bouck, candidates for president and vice-president of the National Farmer-Labor Party are both members of the national committee that met here today to plan for the campaign and map the future of the party.

MacDonald is a member from Illinois and Bouck from Washington. The two committeemen of the Workers Party will be William Z. Foster and C. E. Ruthenberg.

Party's Committeemen.

Committeemen of other states and organizations are as follows:

FEDERATED FARMER-LABOR—Joseph Manley and C. A. Hathaway.

AMALGAMATED METAL WORKERS—Fred G. Biedenkapp.

RHODE ISLAND—James P. Reid and Helen A. Siegel.

SOUTH DAKOTA—August Peterson and A. L. Putnam.

MISSOURI—Stanley J. Clark and John Michelic.

WEST VIRGINIA—W. F. Naylor.

WISCONSIN—Joel Shomaker and Carl Milde.

COLORADO—George N. Falconer and William Dietrich.

NEW YORK—James Campbell.

MASSACHUSETTS — Thomas F. Conroy and Frank Deluca.

PENNSYLVANIA—J. C. Strong and H. O. McClurg.

NEBRASKA—J. L. Beebe and William H. Green.

OKLAHOMA—S. M. Stallard and Daniel Cobb.

TENNESSEE—Frank Drufenbrock and L. J. Holzapfel.

IOWA—A. Kramer and L. J. Kalvig.

CONNECTICUT—Robert McKenzie and John J. Ballam.

NORTH DAKOTA—R. H. Walker and Alfred Knutson.

MONTANA — J. Haaland, Jr. and Charles E. Taylor.

OHIO—Scott Wilkins and A. J. Feldhaus.

MICHIGAN—Charles S. Girard and William Reynolds.

WASHINGTON—John Curtiss Kennedy and William Bouck.

YOUNG WORKERS' LEAGUE—Martin A. Hoyn and John Williamson.

ILLINOIS—Duncan MacDonald and Morton L. Johnson; J. Louis Engdahl, alternate.

Flay Syndicalism Laws.

Resolutions were adopted by the convention demanding the release of the class war prisoners, including the 100 still confined in California under the criminal syndicalism laws of that state. The repeal of all syndicalism laws also demanded.

Resolutions were also adopted commending the "extravagant and reckless service of the capitalist press to the cause of unity in the convention. The Ku Klux Klan was denounced.

Congratulate Mahoney, Hathaway.

(Continued on page 2.)

Washington Plasterers Compromise.

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 20.—The striking plasterers and cement finishers returned to work yesterday on a compromise agreement with the bosses. They will get $13 a day and the five and a half day week instead of $14 a day and the 40-hour week they struck for.

CHARLES E. TAYLOR

As permanent chairman of the St. Paul convention Charles E. Taylor of Montana helped to bring the unity which has resulted in a national party of the workers and farmers.

DECREE DEATH TO INJUNCTIONS AGAINST LABOR

Federated Press Gives Platform Summary

(By The Federated Press)

ST. PAUL, Minn., June 20.—The unanimous adoption of a progressive platform and a determination to launch a vigorous presidential campaign marked the closing of the harmonious third party nominating convention at St. Paul, June 19.

The platform declares: That American plutocracy nullifies the Declaration of Independence and calls for widespread public ownership of industries, transportation and banking. The right of labor to organize on farm or in city work shops.

Death to Injunctions.

The abolition of labor injunctions and the use of the police and militia against labor. It declares that the police and soldiers should help and not hinder labor.

Child welfare legislation is declared for and maternity benefits, insurance for sickness, accidents, old age and death, to be paid for by a tax on wealth. A minimum wage, and residential qualifications on voting is also included.

Land for Users.

The farmer planks demand the land for the users of land, government marketing and distribution and government loans to the farmers without interest. Economic and legal equality is demanded for women and the economic and political emancipation of the Negroes.

Foreign affairs calls for the recognition of Russia, Philippine independence, self determination for the United States colonies, withdrawal of U. S. marines from the Caribbean countries, non-interference in other lands to safeguard the investments or to collect the debts of financial interests.

Twenty-four States' Committeemen

Twenty-four states and four national organizations have already named their committeemen to represent them on the national Farmer-Labor Party committee.

Farmers Need Own Party.

NEW YORK, June 20.—American bankrupt farmers can expect no help from increased European markets, if the survey of the Institute of Economics is valid. "Europe's agricultural production is being restored faster than her industry, and consequently than the buying power of her cities," the report states. "The whole economic tide is against an increase of European demands and high prices for American foodstuffs in the immediate future."

Send in that Subscription Today.

ELECTRIC TRUST SLAVES HEAR W.P. PROGRAM

Daily Worker Sales On Increase

Thousands of workers in the Western Electric plant yesterday congregated on "THE DAILY WORKER corner," and listened to Jack Johnstone advocate the Workers Party message of "All Power to the Workers."

The workers at the plant have accepted the Workers Party open air school as a regular institution. They read the party literature, buy the paper, and take a chance on being late to work by remaining even after the quarter of one whistle blows.

Foremen were scattered thru the crowd today and several of the workers said to DAILY WORKER "newsies," "I can't buy it now. I'll see you tonight." The foreman who was Reeve's boss while he worked in the plant bought a paper from Reeve yesterday and asked how the exposure was going.

Reeve on Trial Today.

Judge Henry Sandusky has ordered back numbers of the DAILY WORKER so that he can be informed on the Western Electric stories when Karl Reeve comes on trial today in the Cicero police court. Reeve is charged with disorderly conduct and distributing leaflets without a permit.

After Jack Johnstone was thru speaking on the Twenty-second street side of the plant yesterday, a relative of R. L. Fairbrothers, 2255 South Kolin avenue, complimented the Workers Party members on their exposure of the Western Electric's policy of squirming out of pension payments. Fairbrothers worker at the Western Electric for thirty-five years and was fired as a "disturber," not receiving a cent of pension money.

Big Meeting Monday.

George Ettlinger and Karl Reeve were other speakers at the open-air meeting. Another noon meeting will be held on Twenty-second street on Monday.

The sales of the DAILY WORKER on the South Side and Cicero newsstands have very noticeably increased since the exposure of the Western Electric slave-driving speed-up conditions.

An important Western Electric expose article will be in next issue.

G. O. P. IS BOMBED ON R. I. SENATE FLOOR; MAY CALL THE TROOPS

PROVIDENCE, R. I., June 20.—The State Senate, sitting here, has gotten to the point of throwing poison gas as a method of settling disputes. Bloodshed is feared if the Republicans refuse to stop their filibuster. The Democrats want the Republicans to attend the sessions of the Senate so there can be a quorum. The Republicans, wishing to keep whole heads, avoid the Senate floor.

Yesterday when the Republicans attended the sessions, someone threw a bottle of chlorine gas on the Senate floor. Four G. O. P. senators are in the hospital today as a result of the playfulness of the Democrats.

The Governor is threatening to use troops to get the Republicans to do their duty and attend the sessions. Open war is feared.

MINE STRIKERS FIGHT BOSSES' GUARDS' ATTACK

Union Hall Burned by Coal Operators

(Special to The Daily Worker.)

MORGANTOWN, W. Va., June 20.—State Cossacks today patrolled Brady, a little mining town in the mountains near here, following a battle between striking miners and company guards of the Brady-Warner Coal Company. The bosses attempted to evict strikers from their homes at midnight.

One man was injured in the firing, which lasted to 3 a. m. The union hall was destroyed by fire and many of the miners' homes were riddled with bullets.

Bosses Blast Town.

Four blasts of dynamite rocked the town, and between 500 and 600 shots were exchanged between the strikers and the guards. Women and children in the company houses were forced to seek refuge in cellars to escape the hail of bullets that tore thru the flimsy structures.

The Brady mine recently went on an open shop basis, and when the union miners refused to accept a cut in wages the company brought in strike-breakers. A vote was taken by the strikers to drive the scabs from the settlement.

Police Rule With Terror.

Sheriff Yost of Morgantown, who went to the scene of the shooting with a force of deputies, returned at dawn with four prisoners.

F.-L. CANDIDATE SEES WORKERS RISING TO POWER

Glad Movement Takes Negroes in Equally

By ALFRED V. FRANKENSTEIN.
(Special to The Daily Worker)

ST. PAUL, June 20.—Disruptionists seeking to split the Farmer-Labor convention in session here were branded as political witch burners by Julius F. Emme, candidate for congress on the Farmer-Labor ticket from the fourth district of Minnesota, in which St. Paul is located.

"The only difference between us as delegates trying to build a mass Farmer-Labor party is not whether we are Socialists, Communists, Farmer-Laborites or members of the Workers' party; the only difference is whether we belong to the class that is exploited or the class that exploits," Emme said.

Rush the Movement.

"Here at St. Paul," the speaker continued, "we are building the hub of a great movement, each spoke of which is a plank in our platform. The only difference between us must be if we are willing to push this movement thru, not what particular sect or philosophy we may subscribe to."

Emme stressed the fact that the convention, in adopting the platform, had declared for racial equality between white man and Negro. He spoke of the way in which the International Association of Machinists has sidestepped this question, and praised the convention for calling a Negro a man with the rights and privileges of a man.

How Farmer-Labor Began.

The speaker told how the farmer-labor movement originated in Minnesota. Though Minnesota had always been republican, St. Paul was run by a democratic machine. As a result of a raw deal handed the workers of the city by this gang in a street car strike, the labor movement entered a ticket of its own. The first year one candidate was elected.

The party began organizing on a state basis, fighting the reactionary labor officials every step of the way, and bringing the Non-Partisan league, the socialists, the labor unionists and the farmers into line. The party had as great difficulties to face as the present national farmer-labor movement, but it was in the end successful, and Emme predicted as great a success for the national organization perfected here during the last three days.

Send in that Subscription Today.

COAL DIGGER AND FARMER HEAD CLASS PARTY IN CAMPAIGN TO SMASH WALL STREET'S RULE

By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL
Editor of the Daily Worker)

ST. PAUL, Minn., June 20.—Duncan MacDonald, coal miner of Springfield, Ill., and William Bouck, farmer of Sedro-Woolley, Washington.

That is the national ticket of the workers and farmers of the United States organized into the National Farmer-Labor Party here. It is the presidential ticket born of the herculean efforts of the nation's workers and farmers to unite their forces politically thru-out the nation.

Altho the cloud of LaFollette hovered over the convention, and especially the nomination of candidates to the last, the nominations went over unanimously, no other candidates being even voted on.

MacDonald Hails Unity and Power.

The unbridled enthusiasm of the delegates in greeting their candidates may well be expressed in the spirit of MacDonald's closing remarks in accepting the nomination, when he said:

"By uniting their forces the workers and farmers can move the universe, and when they do that the world will be theirs."

Hats in the Air.

Pandemonium broke loose as MacDonald finished. Delegates cheered, applauded, threw their hats in the air. They felt the joy of a big job well done.

The way for the making of the nominations came with the adoption of the unanimous report of the committee on nominations. Even the California stalwarts, including Walter Thomas Mills and George C. Kidwell, lined up for the report.

Gomperites Swamped.

When the vote came about three votes, those of the so-called Starkey faction of St. Paul Gompers business agents voted against it, continuing their disruptive tactics.

All indications are that this Starkey group is acting under direct orders from the Gompers headquarters in Washington. Gompers is receiving daily confidential reports of the convention from his agents in the convention.

Howat Names Fellow Miner.

Alex Howat, of Kansas, a fellow-

(Continued on page 3.)

"IRON MAN" OF ITALY NOW A BROKEN REED

Latest Murder May Be His Last

ROME, Italy, June 20.—The tense situation here has been aggravated, not abated, by the finding of the horribly mutilated body of the Socialist deputy Giacomo Matteoti, for whose murder the recent Fascist chieftains and officials are being held in jail. The United Socialist Party has determined to constitute itself a "civil party" and to sue for damages.

Even the Fascist majority in the parliament, thru its executive committee, is demanding that Premier Mussolini reconvene the assembly of deputies for a thoro investigation into the Fascist murder of the Socialist deputy and even more thoro inquiry into the persistent charges of monstrous graft on the part of high Fascisti officials. Mussolini is being pushed to a more sweeping "house-cleaning" to save the Fascisti from complete repudiation and ruin.

Dictate to Dictator.

The country is in turmoil despite the desperate efforts of the dictator, now virtually the tool of his supporters in parliament, to quell every disturbance and keep the labor and radical leaders in prison. The general protest strike is far more effective than the fascist directory will admit.

The feeble attempt to pin the Matteoti killing to an "international adventurer" proved futile, altho the man did admit that he was hired by Amerigo Dumini, leading Florence fascist and criminal, to shadow the murdered deputy and assist the fascist conspirators in securing the documents showing their graft, which the deputy had intended to expose.

Sell Titles Like Buttons.

More of the "dirt" is discovered daily. Sig. Filippelli, former editor of the suspended fascist organ, Corriere Italiano, made a fortune by selling Italian knighthoods at monopoly prices.

Sig. Aldo Finzi, dashing young fas-

(Continued on Page 2.)

HOWAT CHOSEN FARMER-LABOR PARTY CHAIRMAN

By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL.
(Special to The Daily Worker)

ST. PAUL, Minn., June 20.—Alexander Howat, Kansas, was unanimously elected chairman of the national committee of the Farmer-Labor party at its first meeting here today, called to organize its forces, determine its attitude towards the conference for progressive political action soon to meet at Cleveland, and to plan the campaign for its national ticket—MacDonald and Bouck. In spite of the last broadside of the yellow press, the delegates were going home today, following adjournment last night, united in support of the organization created here. "He's sorry this morning," was the way the Nebraska delegation characterized delegate Taylor, Nebraska, one of its members who threatened a lone bolt. "He is sorry this morning that he made any such threat."

Progressive Farmers Meet.

SALT LAKE CITY, June 20.—The Utah Farmer-Labor Progressive state convention will be held in Salt Lake City beginning July 23, according to a call sent out by its secretary, M. P. Bales.

HERE IS PARTY PLATFORM

The Declaration of Independence enunciated a principle that every human being is endowed with certain inalienable rights. Among these are the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. These rights are today denied the great mass of people of this country by a privileged class which thru its economic and political power dominates the life of the people of this country.

This privileged class has, thru the organization of trusts, thru interlocking directorates, thru the great banking institutions of Wall Street, concentrated control of the economic life of the country in the hands of a financial oligarchy with its headquarters in Wall Street. It uses its power to amass great wealth for itself at the expense of the happiness and well-being of the farmers and industrial workers who are the producers of the wealth of this country.

In order to maintain its privileges and to aid in its exploitation of the farmers and industrial workers, this privileged class has fastened its grip upon the government. It uses the legislative, executive and judicial branches of the government alike as instruments in its service to secure greater and greater profits and to amass greater and greater wealth.

It has used bribery and corruption to steal from the people the natural resources of the country.

Thru raids upon the public treasury during the war and in the settlement of war contracts it has looted the people of hundreds of millions if not billions of dollars.

The legislation passed by Congress is cleverly designed to increase the profits of the privileged class. It has driven millions of farmers from the land thru its financial manipulations.

It uses the courts to strike down the industrial workers who dare to carry on the struggle for better wages and working conditions.

It uses the police power and soldiers against the same industrial workers who seek to secure from industry the means in wages sufficient for a decent standard of living.

It has created governmental wars which have no other purpose than to keep the workers in subjection and make impossible the realization of their aspirations for a higher standard of living.

It uses the Supreme Court to protect its propertied interests and its right to bring process against the welfare of the millions who produce wealth.

It maintains a great army and navy for the purpose of protecting its investments in foreign lands and coercing weaker governments in the interests of the Wall Street financial oligarchy.

It has not hesitated and will not hesitate to throw this country into war and sacrifice millions of lives and millions of wealth in order to protect its financial interests and increase its opportunity to make profits.

In the face of these conditions, only one

(Continued on page 2.)

STRIKING POSTAL WORKERS TIE UP CANADIAN SERVICE DESPITE SCABS

(Special to the Daily Worker)

MONTREAL, Que., June 20.—The Dominion-wide postal strike seems to have met greatest success in the provinces of Ontario and Quebec, the two largest cities in the Dominion—Toronto and Montreal being hardest hit.

In Montreal letter carriers are out to a man and no deliveries were made Thursday or this morning. Lock boxes were not filled and windows were closed. Police surrounded the general postoffice. In Toronto, headquarters of the Canadian Federation of Postal Employes, 200 strike breaking scabs were taken on.

The postal workers demand higher wages.

DENMARK GIVES SOVIET RUSSIA OFFICIAL RECOGNITION HANDSHAKE

(Special to The Daily Worker)

WASHINGTON, June 20.—Denmark has given de jure recognition to Soviet Russia, according to the official report of the American minister at Copenhagen, John B. Prince. Denmark has recently elected a "Labor" government similar to that of MacDonald in England and the new ruling party had announced its intention to give the Soviet government full recognition as the legal government of Russia. With Japan and France ready to extend their recognition to Soviet Russia, it will be increasingly foolish for the United States to withhold its official recognition.

Workers and Farmers' Platform Challenges Capitalist Class

STRONG STAND TAKEN BY F.-L. ON LABOR ISSUES

Demands Smashing of Syndicalism Laws

(Special to The Daily Worker.)

ST. PAUL, June 20.—Nine resolutions were presented to the platform committee and all but one adopted. First was a resolution condemning the imperialist war preparations now going on. The resolution spoke of the Japanese exclusion law as passed as a war-making measure. Duncan MacDonald objected to this statement because he felt a large portion of organized labor favored the law, and because the big capitalist powers are opposed to it.

In this connection Delegate Ryan of Tacoma, Wash., said he knew Albert Johnson, the framer of the exclusion law, and that he was an anti-labor man and always had been. Because of the Japanese provision, the resolution was referred to a sub-committee.

No Child Labor.

A resolution prohibiting child labor under 16 years of age was carried, but one providing that a six-hour day and a five-day week be enforced for all workers under 21 years of age was defeated because a similar provision was made in the platform.

Two resolutions dealt with special legislation for women. One provided for the enactment of laws regulating industry in regard to the exploitation of women, and one called for political, social and economic equality for their sex. There was considerable discussion of the last, and it was referred to the sub-committee.

Release "Politicals."

Since the pay of postal employes has not been raised, the committee adopted a resolution to resist the proposed increase in parcel post rates, to be made on the pretext of increased cost in operating the post office.

The Esch-Cummins law was condemned, and the Howell-Barkley bill supported in the resolution on railroad legislation.

The repeal of all criminal syndicalism laws, and the release of all prisoners convicted under them, and under the espionage act was demanded in another resolution referred to the sub-committee for amplification.

Gringo Capitalists Still Hope to Grab Mexico for the U. S.

By ELLA G. WOLFE.
(Special to The Daily Worker)

MEXICO CITY, June 20.—"The Mexican creole is not worth very much, but thirteen million Mexicans are Indian, good strong people, that would make worth-while our taking over Mexico." This was a statement made to me this morning by a member of the American Chamber of Commerce down here at present. That is their eternal attitude. Until we take Mexico the country will not amount to anything, nor will the people amount to a row of pins. When will the imperialist yankee get wise to his own stupidity and stop measuring human values in dollars and cents?

No Mail to Canada.

DETROIT, June 20.—No more registered mail or parcel post packages will be accepted here for delivery in Canada during the postal strike, post-office officials said today.

ROBLEY D. CRAMER

Delegate to the Farmer-Labor convention and editor of the Minneapolis Labor Review. Robley D. Cramer fought the "red baiting" activities of Gompers' agents.

CALIF BOSSES GO NUTS AS WOBS REFUSE TO DIE

Defense Secretary Nails Hoof-Mouth Lie

SAN FRANCISCO, Cal., June 20.—Assistant United States District Attorney Fink announced today that there will be a general round-up of I. W. W.'s in Washington, California, Arizona and Idaho by the Department of Justice.

They will be prosecuted under a section of the Sherman Anti-Trust law for alleged spreading of the hoof and mouth disease, blats Stone's underling.

"Lie," Says Defense Secretary.

When Jim Morris, secretary of the I. W. W. general defense committee, at 1001 W. Madison street, Chicago, was told of the statement of Fink he characterized it as "a barefaced lie."

Morris pointed out that scientists had failed to isolate the germ of the hoof and mouth disease and it was obviously impossible for anyone to spread the disease deliberately under the circumstances.

The I. W. W. has warned workers and others to keep away from California because it is said that the hoof and mouth disease is transferable to humans. Workers have also been tabooing California products because of the jailing of more than a hundred union men under the criminal syndicalism law. "This action must have been effective if the government was forced to make a fool of itself by charges of that sort," I. W. W.'s said yesterday.

"Because the syndicalism law has failed to stop our organization work among the workers of California the big lumber and shipping interests are forcing the government to try and stop us in another way. This latest stunt will fall flat as the criminal syndicalism law did," Morris said.

Another Near Disaster.

SAN DIEGO, Cal., June 20.—Another disaster due to the inefficency of social butterfly naval officers was narrowly averted here yesterday when two submarines side-swiped each other during underwater practice. No injuries were reported.

HERE IS PARTY PLATFORM

(Continued from page 1.)

road lies open for the industrial workers and farmers to protect themselves from the exploitation and oppression of the financial and industrial lords who rule the country: To organize a political party representing the interests of the industrial workers and farmers, and to enter into the political arena, to wrest control of the government from the hands of the financial and industrial masters who now rule this country.

The Farmer-Labor Party frankly avows its purpose to carry on such a struggle. It declares openly that it is the Party representing the workers in the mines, mills, factories, and workshops, the workers upon the land, and the working farmers. It declares its purpose to take over the government in the interests of these groups, and to use it to build a social system which will give them a higher standard of living and which will have as its first object their happiness and well-being.

The Farmer-Labor Party declares as its purpose to end the existing system of exploitation and the rule of the privileged class. It calls upon all organizations of workers, whether in the industries or upon the land, to make common cause with it; to join it in the struggle to free the farmers and industrial workers from the greedy exploitation of those who now rule the country and win for themselves the right to "Life, liberty and happiness" thru the establishment of a Workers' and Farmers' Government.

A. Public Ownership

There can be no genuine Public Ownership until the workers and farmers control the Government. It is only to the extent that there is a strong workers' and farmers' representation in the government, and only to the extent that the control and operation of the nationalized industries is in the hands of the workers and farmers that any benefits can be realized from nationalization of industry. The Farmer-Labor Party will carry on a struggle to create these conditions and for:

1. The nationalization of all monopolized industries, such as railroads, mines, superpower plants and means of communication and transportation.
2. The organization of the workers in these industries for participation in the management and direction of the industries nationalized, thus developing industrial democracy until industry comes under the control of those who produce the wealth of the nation, subject only to such control as will protect the interests of the producers as a whole.
3. We demand the repeal of the Federal Reserve and National Banking acts and in place thereof declare for the government ownership and operation of all banking institutions at cost.

B. Organization of Labor

1. The protection of the right of the industrial and agricultural workers to organize labor unions for the protection of their interests and the encouragement of such organizations.
2. Legislation abolishing the right of the courts to issue injunctions in labor disputes.
3. The use of police, militia and army to protect the workers in their struggles against the exploiters in place of the use of these instruments of the government to suppress the struggles of the workers and farmers, as is the case under the existing capitalistic government.

C. Social Legislation for the Industrial and Agricultural Workers

1. Enactment of a law providing for the adjustment of the hours of work so as to afford employment to all workers in each industry, with the maximum workday of eight hours in all industries.
2. A federal constitutional amendment making the employment of children in industry under sixteen years of age a criminal offense and compulsory education and maintenance at government expense.
3. A federal law providing for a minimum wage for all workers—the wage to be fixed in cooperation with the representatives of the trade unions.
4. A social insurance and old age pension law providing for adequate sick, accident and death insurance for all city and rural workers. Funds for the same to be secured thru increased taxation of incomes, excess profits, surtaxes and inheritance taxes and taxes upon unearned income.
5. A national maternity insurance law providing for adequate compensation for all mothers for a period covering one month prior to and one month after childbirth.
6. The abolition of residential restrictions upon the right to vote.

D. Farmers' Program

1. Land was created for all the people and we demand a system of land tenure which will eliminate landlordism and tenantry and will secure the land to the users thereof.
2. Public ownership of all means of transportation, marketing institutions and industries engaged in the preparation and distribution of farm products, with participation of the farmers in the management of these industries.
3. Legislation for loans to farmers in distress, without interest, thru government banking organizations.
4. The development of marketing organizations owned by the government, with participation of the farmers in the management, to finance and insure a systematic distribution of the product of the land, with charges covering the cost of administration only.

E. Women's Plank

We demand equal political rights for men and women.

F. Negro Problem

The Farmer-Labor Party recognizes the particularly vicious economic and political oppression and exploitation of the Negro Race in America and pledges itself to extend its struggle to free all toilers to include the political and industrial emancipation of the Negro workers and farmers.

G. Unemployment

1. Enactment of a law prohibiting the employment in industry of children under the age of sixteen.
2. Enactment of a law providing for adequate compensation during unemployment at regular trade union wages for all city and rural workers. Funds for same to be secured thru the taxation of all excess profits, inherited wealth and unearned income.

H. Imperialism and Foreign Affairs

1. Immediate full diplomatic and commercial recognition of the first Workers' and Peasants' Government—Soviet Russia.
2. Immediate independence for the Philippine Islands.
3. The right of self-determination for colonies and possessions of the United States, such as Porto Rico, Guam, Virgin Islands. The question of the relationship of the government of those possessions to the government of the United States to be decided by a plebiscite of the people of these countries.
4. The removal of United States marines and soldiers from Haiti, Santo Domingo, Nicaragua and the full recognition of the right of these countries and Cuba to decide upon their own affairs.
5. Absolute non-interference in any other country for the purpose of safeguarding investments or collections of debts of the financial interests.

JESSIE B. KASTNER

Assistant secretary at the St. Paul convention.

POLICE SUED BY TORTURE VICTIM IN LOS ANGELES

Mayor and Captain Hart Directed "Goldfish"

(Special to the Daily Worker.)

LOS ANGELES, Calif., June 20.—James Hart has sued the mayor and police Captain Lee Heath for $50,000 charging that they tortured him last June while he was held as a suspect. The story Hart tells indicates that the Los Angeles police have methods of torturing prisoners which rival those used by the Chicago police in their "goldfish rooms."

The complaint filed in court charges that the police established a place at First and Hill streets for the purpose of inflicting torturing suspects without the possibility of interference. Hart's complaint describes the equipment which consisted of marble slabs, shackles, straps and a tank filled with gas.

The complaint charges that Hart was arrested on June 22, 1923, and at midnight taken to this room and under the direction of the mayor and the captain of police, "fiendishly tortured." He says five men did the torturing. They tied his hands and feet and administered a gas tank to him. He was then put in a chair and tortured further, he declares. His health was ruined by the experience.

"Iron Man" of Italy Now a Broken Reed

(Continued from page 1.)

cist secretary of the interior until last week, has been the foremost figure in the graft charges, which are more overwhelming than the Teapot Dome scandal of the United States. The fascist parliamentary executive committee turned down a resolution of support to Sig. Finzi and he will undoubtedly follow his former press bureau head, Cesare Rossi, and other involved fascist leaders who thot quickly, in fleeing the country.

Standard Oil Again.

Sig. Finzi was head of Italian aviation and helped Standard Oil of America make its 300,000,000 lire profits from Italy last year.

Sig. Finzi negotiated, with the aid of the Rockefeller company, the tremendous oil concession which was about to be given to Harry F. Sinclair's Consolidated Oil (in which Standard holds much stock) when the present storm broke, hurried by this very deal.

Finzi first declared gambling in Italy would be stopped, and at the same time he received some millions of lire from Monte Carlo and other French and Swiss gamblers. Later he allowed the Italian gamblers full play and it was said that he was well repaid by them.

Deputy Matteoti had the facts on much of the big grafting by fascist officials and because he intended to show them up, he was killed. The outcome of the resulting situation is altogether doubtful, but the tremendous protest against fascist crime and graft seems to be sweeping the country further toward a proletarian revolution.

Bulls for Bosses.

CHRISTIANIA, Norway, June 20.—The chief of police has just dismissed ten constables, one of them the president of the union, for declaring that the police ought to be neutral in strikes.

WORKER TELLS HOW ELECTRIC COMPANY ROBS

Lures Help with Big Empty Promises

The DAILY WORKER has repeatedly claimed that it is the only daily paper that represents the interests of the workers and gives voice to their aspirations.

Articles now appearing serially in the DAILY WORKER exposing the open shop exploitation at the Western Electric make big sales of this organ possible at the very gates of the factory.

One of the regular purchasers of our paper submitted the following story to Eugene Bechtold of the DAILY WORKER. It is highly significant that this worker, as so many others, placed confidence in our representatives, knowing that the DAILY WORKER is their paper.

The story is as follows:

"I was in a town in the South and wrote to the Western Electric company appiying for a position, stating how much an hour I would start at. They wrote back and told me that everything was O. K. and that my application was accepted. All that I was to do was to be examined and interviewed.

"So I told my boss where I was going to work in Chicago. I had a more money job in Chicago. I came to Chicago and the Western Electric chief of department told me he didn't see how he could give me the sum of money for which I asked in the application and he would not give it, altho this being after I had paid eleven dollars train fare to get to this job and gave up my other job besides, in a much cheaper town than this city. So instead of me getting what they promised me I was forced to take the job for five cents less an hour than they promised me. If they would have told me in reply to my examination that they would not pay me that sum, I would have been better off, financially and physically, to have stayed where I was.

Striking Painters Win 5-Day Week and Wage Raise in N. J.

JERSEY CITY, N. J., June 20.—After a six weeks' strike the 4,000 painters of Hudson county, New Jersey, have won the 5-day week and a daily wage increase from $10 to $10.50. The new contract is for one year and the terms are the same as those previously won by their fellow workers in the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers in New York city.

Send in that Subscription Today!

BUY YOUR DRUGS AT LOW PRICES
THIS WEEK'S SPECIAL
$1.50—3 tubes Pepsodent Tooth Paste $1.00
75c—3 cakes Cuticura Soap..... 59c
SALEM'S GREEN TABLETS
FOR CONSTIPATION
25 CENTS
AUSTIN-MADISON PHARMACY
1 MADISON STREET at Austin Blvd.
We Deliver Free
Phones: Oak Park 392, 571, 572; Austin 4117
We speak and read: Lettish, Polish, Lithuanian, etc.

George E. Pashas
COZY LUNCH
2426 Lincoln Avenue
One-half block from Imperial Hall
CHICAGO

JAY STETLER'S
RESTAURANT
Established 1901
1053 W. Madison St. Chicago
Tel. Monroe 2241

FROM ST. PAUL TO WASHINGTON WITH THE DAILY WORKER

The representatives of the workers and farmers from all over the United States have organized a class party that is destined to sweep the political parties of capitalism from power and place a Workers' government in Washington. During the next few months one of the greatest political battles ever waged in America will be fought with the Farmer-Labor Party leading against the capitalist parties. Get into this fight NOW with the DAILY WORKER. Let your answer to LaFollette and his disrupters be a subscription to the fighting Communist daily. Subscribe now.

Make Your Answer Today!

THE DAILY WORKER,
1113 W. Washington Blvd.,
Chicago, Illinois.

Enclosed find $..... to cover the list of ..... subscriptions to the DAILY WORKER taken on the list below. These "subs" were secured at the Special Rate of $1 for two months. This is my effort to let the workers and farmers know the truth about the attacks by La Follette, Gompers and the whole yellow press on the class farmer-labor movement that will organize its forces at the St. Paul Farmer-Labor Convention starting June 17th:

NAME	ADDRESS
.....	.....
.....	.....
.....	.....
.....	.....

Sent in by.....

Write plainly, in ink if possible. Better print the names. Send in for special $1 for two months sub cards.

Strong Men in Farmer-Labor Committee

(Continued from page 1.)

Sympathy was extended to R. H. (Dad) Walker, who is still confined at St. Joseph's hospital suffering from blood poisoning in his arm.

Congratulations were extended to everyone who had anything to do with the convention, from William Mahoney and C. A. Hathaway, chairman and secretary of the organization committee, to the various officials of the convention.

In response to the plea of chairman Taylor to the delegates to stand with me and pledge with me to work for a united movement, the convention rose to its feet cheering unanimously as the convention adjourned sine die.

Permanent Organization.

After the 1924 campaign a national convention will be called for permanent national organization. All the above arrangements are only provisional. The postcampaign convention will do the spade work of intrenching the new party in the states and assuring lasting national organization. The next great work of the party after 1924 wil be the congressional campaign of 1926 and the state campaign of the same year.

STRIKERS FIGHT MINE GUARDS IN RESISTING MIDNIGHT EVICTIONS

(Special to the DAILY WORKER.)

MORGNTOWN, W. Va., June 20.—A gun battle was reported in progress between mine guards and union workers in the mountains north of here early today following attempts to evict strikers from company houses.

The firing is said to have started shortly after midnight and continued all night.

There were no known casualties, according to reports to Morgantown police.

Mexican Minister Sees World Taking Up Work of Lenin

By ELLA G. WOLFE.
(Special to The Daily Worker)

MEXICO CITY, June 20. — The Mexican reactionary press is up in arms against a pamphlet just published by Ramon P. de Negri, the minister of agriculture of Mexico. Under the heading, "Words dedicated to Nicolai Lenin," de Negri says, "Sooner or later humanity will be forced to adopt the work of Lenin and it will find itself obliged to discard the actual economic bases of society, because the present system and the lack of equilibrium it produces redunds to the misery of the working classes all over the world. The fact that a cabinet minister can make such a statement in Mexico and still remain an honorable member of the cabinet would speak well for a brighter future for the Mexican worker and peasant if only the gringoes would keep their hungry imperialist hands off.

Chicago Branch Agents!

A most important meeting of Branch Agents will be held in THE DAILY WORKER Building, 1113 W. Washington St., Saturday, June 21, at 3:00 P. M.

Marked progress has been made during the past month in boosting the Chicago circulation and at the Saturday meeting new plans will be presented and worked out which will give further impetus to the rapidly growing DAILY WORKER circulation.

It is essential that every Branch Agent be present next Saturday. Workers Party branches which have not yet appointed their Branch Agents should arrange to have representatives present at the meeting and to elect their permanent agents at once.

ELECTRIC TRUST WORKERS FLOCK TO STREET MEET

Big Crowd Hears How Workers Party Helps

Two thousand Western Electric workers spent their noon hour listening to speakers representing the Workers Party and the Young Workers League, who talked to the men from the back of the DAILY WORKER truck.

Labor Heralds, Liberators and DAILY WORKERS went like hot cakes as the Western Electric workers listened to four speakers. They stayed until the whistle blew, and many of them turned away reluctantly, securing copies of "Why every worker should be a Communist and join the Workers Party," before they went back into the shop.

Barney Mass told the workers about the class struggle. "The Workers Party is here to see that you men have a means of organization and expression against the profit system which makes you slave," Mass told his audience. As soon as Mass opened up the meeting, real estate men and card juggling soap sellers lost their crowd.

The Workers Party meetings are becoming a regular institution at the 22nd St. site of the Western Electric plant. They will be held here every day in the future.

Manuel Gomez spoke on the significance of the workers having their own political working class party, and told how one is now being formed in St. Paul. He showed up the republican Teapot Dome convention, and said the democrats would be just as corrupt.

Karl Reeve spoke on conditions inside the Western Electric. "What is the remedy?" Reeve asked. "It's a big problem but the Workers Party tells you that the problem of low wages and bad labor conditions will never be solved until you workers own and run the plant yourselves under your own workers government."

"At the present time," Reeve declared, you beg like hell for a job, and then you work like hell to keep it. The bosses give you a meager wage and out of your labor reap millions of dollars in profits. Your problems will never be solved until the damnable profit system is abolished, and the workers take over the factories and run them to serve each other as workers, and not for the dividends reaped by capitalists."

Jack McCarthy made a ringing appeal for the workers in the Western Electric to subscribe to the DAILY WORKER, and not to be afraid to join a union, if they would be men and not slaves.

MINER AND FARMER HEAD CLASS TICKET

(Continued from page 1.)

worker of Duncan MacDonald in the United Mine Workers union for many years, nominated his comrade, Howat received an ovation as he came on the stage.

"I want to nominate a man who cannot be bulldozed or beaten by anyone," said Howat, who then proceeded to tell of MacDonald's long record of service in the organized labor movement.

"He was first a member of the executive board of the Illinois Mine Workers' union, later becoming the president of the 160,000 Illinois coal miners, as good a bunch of fighters as can be found anywhere on the American continent.

Fighter From Word "Go."

"He is a real fighter from the word 'go.' That is the kind of man the workers and farmers need at the present time. That man is Duncan MacDonald," and a bedlam of enthusiasm broke loose in the convention.

Alice Lorraine Daily, of South Dakota, seconded the nomination, declaring, "it is a great satisfaction to me to second the nomination for president of their industrial worker of Illinois." Miss Daily pointed out that MacDonald had been born on the farm, that he had worked on the farm and in the mines. That he understood the needs and the problems of both the industrial and land-workers.

Member of Our Class.

"Friends, he is of us," she continued. "He shares our viewpoint and our aspirations. He is a man of force, strength and kindness. I believe we have found a real man as our candidate for president."

It was at this point that Delegate P. A. Peterson, of Minnesota, raised the bugaboo of LaFollette once more.

He wanted to know if LaFollette had rejected, under or over his signature, the nomination of the convention. William Mahoney was called upon to answer. Mahoney stated that no definite written rejection had been received from LaFollette, but in a lengthy review of the situation he again showed that LaFollette would not accept the nomination.

Mahoney On LaFollette.

Mahoney then gave his interpretation of the attitude towards LaFollette, growing out of the report adopted by the organization committee. Mahoney held that the national commiteet of this convention will negotiate with the Cleveland gathering of the conference for progressive political action on the question of candidates, inferring that if LaFollette became the candidate at Cleveland, instead of McAdoo, as is anticipated, that LaFollette would become acceptable to the forces gathered here, who would thereupon, thru their national committee, withdraw their candidates.

Must Accept F.-L. Program.

This seemed to satisfy Delegate Peterson, who thereupon withdrew his nomination of LaFollette. Delegate William Z. Foster, of the Workers party, in reply to Mahoney, then made the following statement:

"In view of the statement just made by Mr. Mahoney, relative to the candidacy of Mr. LaFollette, I feel it incumbent upon me to state the position of the Workers' party on this matter. In the coming negotiations between the national committee of the national Farmer-Labor party and other groups relative to combined action upon a presidential candidate, the only basis upon which the Workers party will accept LaFollette as a candidate is, if he agrees to run as the Farmer-Labor candidate, to accept that party's platform and its control over his electoral campaign and campaign funds."

When MacDonald was ushered to the platform for his acceptance speech as the party's candidate, he did not mince words as to where he stood towards LaFollette. He referred to him as "one whom he hoped at one time would be with us.

MacDonald then argued that the United States was now in a position similar to that in the Roman empire before it crumbled into dust. He said it was a period where all power had fallen into the hands of the few.

Better Red Than Oily.

"I suppose I shall be presented as the candidate of the Reds," continued MacDonald. "But I am not particular about what the press says in that respect. I would rather be called red than be smeared with oil up to my eyebrows like the gang at Cleveland. We have reached a crisis in this country. The common people must speak up. They say that we are backed by Moscow gold. Well, so far as I know, every time the Communists hold a meeting in this country they always have to pass the hat to raise expenses."

MacDonald then took up the question of war and militarism. He said that the workers and farmers, on the eve of the next war must declare to the ruling class: "If you start a war go and fight it. We are going to stay at home." The dominant idea must be, not only in America but all over the world, "there must be no more wars."

MacDonald Hits C. P. P. A.

MacDonald then directed a few shafts at the coming gathering in Cleveland of the conference for progressive political action. "Do not entertain the hope that Cleveland will subscribe to our platform," he said. "We have made the start here. We are marching forward to victory, if not this year, then in the very near future."

Kennedy Names Bouck.

When the cheering had died, Delegate John Curtiss Kennedy of Washington was recognized to place the name of William Bouck, president of the Western Progressive Farmers, in nomination as the candidate for vice president.

But first he spoke a few words of MacDonald, who, he said, was a splendid representative of the industrial wage earning group, a man in whom we can have the fullest confidence.

Then Kennedy told of how Bouck had followed the advice of Horace Greeley and gone West, first into the mines, to be driven from one mining camp to another, and then going into Washington, where he helped organize the agricultural workers.

Solution Under Capitalism.

"The Western Progressive Farmers has made a new departure in the organization of farmers. It recognizes that there is no solution of the problems of the farmers under capitalism. This organization knows that all power must be wrested from the money power. That the exploited must build their own workers' and farmers' republic."

When William Bouck was called to the platform following the ovation that greeted his unanimous nomination, he didn't indulge in pyrotechnics, but immediately began discussing internationalism.

Internationalism Vital.

"They tell us that we must have nothing to do with anything that smacks of internationalism. I want to say that I claim the right to investigate conditions in other countries as well as in this country, and to learn how those conditions affect us. I want the farmers to talk internationalism. They all know that the price of their wheat is fixed in the Liverpool market. Liverpool settles the price of world wheat. You farmers can crawl back into your Minnesota and your North Dakota but your markets, the price of your wheat and other grain will not crawl in with you. That is an international question."

Bouck Praises Wobblies.

Bouck also paid tribute to the Industrial Workers of the World, amid the cheers of the delegates, showing how they had cleaned up the lumber camps in the state of Washington and were now enjoying a decent wage and conditions better than the farmers.

It was at this point that Delegate Starkey of St. Paul again projected himself into the proceedings. He wanted Delegate Foster to repeat the statement he had made about the La Follette candidacy. He came up to the front of the convention hall and declared in the best threatening attitude he could muster that "I'll have to remove myself from the convention if Foster's statement means that the Communists are in control of the convention."

Starkey Laughed Out.

While the convention laughed Starkey out of countenance the chairman, Delegate Taylor, ruled that he was out of order, and Starkey was glad to drop into the nearest seat.

Delegate Joseph Manley then made the report for the platform committee. The report, after two hours' discussion and numerous efforts to amend, was finally adopted in its original form as it appears in another column.

MISS ALICE LORRAINE DALY

One of the most eloquent speakers in the Farmer-Labor movement, and South Dakota school teacher, who was elected secretary of the Farmer-Labor-Progressive convention at St. Paul.

THE LIBERATOR

THE MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN POLITICS, LETTERS AND ART

The Only Magazine of Its Kind in America

Editor: ROBERT MINOR

CONTRIBUTORS INCLUDE:

Max Eastman	William Gropper
John Pepper	Fred Ellis
Leon Trotzky	Boardman Robinson
Wm. Z. Foster	Art Young
William Dunne	Floyd Dell
Scott Nearing	Mary Heaton Vorse
G. Zinoviev	Cornelia Barnes
J. Louis Engdahl	Lydia Gibson
C. E. Ruthenberg	Michael Gold
Jay Lovestone	Moissaye Olgin
Upton Sinclair	Joseph Freeman
Eugene V. Debs	James Rorty
Hugo Gelert	Claude McKay

The Liberator, formerly The Masses, has won for itself a unique position in the world of revolutionary politics, literature and art.

Become acquainted with this interesting and live monthly magazine.

$1.00 brings The Liberator to you for six months.

Use the Coupon below.

THE LIBERATOR,
1009 N. State St.,
Chicago, Illinois.

I enclose $1.00 for six months subscription

Name .....

Address .....

Thrill of Lifetime At Young Workers Big Picnic Today

Did you ever come to a picnic and find yourself surrounded by a crowd of a few hundred working class children singing revolutionary songs? Have you ever seen the children of the United Workers' Sunday School in action? Have you ever seen the junior section of the Young Workers' League carrying on its work among other working class children?

If you haven't you have cheated yourself of a thrill that comes once in a lifetime. Come to the picnic of the United Workers' Sunday Schools, to be held this afternon at Brand's Park, 3259 Elston avenue, near California and Belmont avenues. The fun starts at 2 p. m. and will continue to about midnight. Come.

For the kids there will be games and other pleasures. Ice cream, yum, yum, and all sorts of good things to eat. For the older folks there will be speakers, a concert, and for those who cannot control their feet there will be dancing.

Admission at the door is 50c. If you meet someone selling tickets before the picnic starts, you can get a ticket for 35c.

Church Goers Don't.

NEW YORK, June 20.—"In proportion to the Protestant population, the decline in church attendance over the last thirty-three years is 52 per cent," according to the report on rural churches by the Institute of Social and Religious Researches, New York.

Send in that Subscription Today.

More Prison-made Goods.

TRENTON, N. J., June 20.—Competition of prison-made goods with union made products will be increased if plans of a conference in session in Trenton materialize. Gov. Silzer has called here representatives of twenty-seven state institutions from six states adjoining New Jersey to arrange for interchange between states of prison-made goods.

Send in that Subscription Today.

Mueller's RESTAURANT
A good place to eat.
1010 RUSH STREET
Tel. Superior 7079
Downstairs of National Office.

Established 1899
JOHN B. HESSLER
SHOES
FOR MEN, WOMEN & CHILDREN
2720 North Ave. CHICAGO

Tel. Monroe 7281
We Serve Nothing But the Best
VICTORY
Restaurant and Lunch Room
Pronos Brothers
1054 West Madison St. Chicago

Studebaker Theatre
418 S. MICHIGAN BOULEVARD
Tomorrow (Sunday) Morning,
ELEVEN O'CLOCK
Great Popular Scientific Lecture by
Percy Ward
The Eminent Orator
Will Lecture on
"DARWINISM MADE PLAIN"
WHAT HUMANITY OWES TO CHARLES DARWIN
Where Evolution Stands Today
Readers of The Daily Worker Specially invited
Twelve Hundred Seats.
All Seats: Fifty Cents

GOOD CLOTHES for MEN and BOYS
Shoes—Furnishings—Hats
Open Thursday and Saturday Evenings
Lincoln CLOTHING CO.
LINCOLN AVE. AND WRIGHTWOOD AVE.
LINCOLN AVE. AND IRVING PARK BLVD.

Meet us at the
Prudential Restaurant
752 NORTH AVE.
The only place to eat.

MITCHALL'S
INTERNATIONAL ORCHESTRA
Union Music Furnished For All Occassions
Write for appointments to
M. MITCHALL,
(Teacher of Saxophone)
1640 W. Congress St. Chicago, Ill.

RUBBER STAMPS AND SEALS
IN ENGLISH AND IN ALL FOREIGN LANGUAGES
INK, PADS, DATERS, RUBBER TYPE, Etc.
NOBLER STAMP & SEAL CO.
73 W. VanBuren St.
Phone Wabash 6680
CHICAGO
MAIL ORDERS PROMPTLY ATTENDED TO

Room to Rent.
Single or double. 3538 Thomas St.
Four blocks from Humboldt Park.

YOUR MONEY
YOU EARNED IT BY HARD LABOR
YOU SAVED IT BY PRIVATION
INVEST IT SAFELY
INVEST IT PROFITABLY
Invest it in
Amalgamated Bank 6% First Mortgages
"The Acme of Investment Safety"
First Mortgages in denominations of $100.00, $500.00, $1,000.00 and more.
First Mortgages on Choice Chicago Real Estate
$700,000 Mortgages Sold. New list of $350,000 to select from
The conservatism of our investments, the security of our loans, make them the most desirable, the most sought for.
Insurance companies, unions and individual customers—large and small—use them for the investment of their funds.
Out-of-town investors can arrange the purchase of our mortgages by mail.
Amalgamated Trust and Savings Bank
Chicago's Labor Bank
A Clearing House Bank
371 West Jackson Blvd.,
Chicago, Ill.
Hours: Daily 9:00 A. M. to 3:00 P. M.
Tuesdays 9:00 A. M. to 8:00 P. M.
Saturdays 9:00 A. M. to 5:00 P. M.

THE DAILY WORKER

Published by the DAILY WORKER PUBLISHING CO., 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill. (Phone: Monroe 4712)

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

By mail:
$6.00 per year $3.50....6 months $2.00....3 months

By mail (in Chicago only):
$8.00 per year $4.50....6 months $2.50....3 months

Address all mail and make out checks to THE DAILY WORKER
1113 W. Washington Blvd. Chicago, Illinois

J. LOUIS ENGDAHL)
WILLIAM F. DUNNE) .....Editors
MORITZ J. LOEB.....Business Manager

Entered as second-class mail Sept. 21, 1923 at the Post-Office at Chicago, Ill., under the act of March 3, 1879.

290 Advertising rates on application.

A Hard Picture

LaFollette is still the "voice crying in the wilderness," as William Hard, the political correspondent who has observed the Wisconsin boss build his machine, calls him. He is the St. John of the liberals, the forlorn hope of the impossible idealists, the projected wish of those who desire a better day for man but do not "face the facts and fight."

Not that LaFollette, and perhaps many of his admiring supporters, do not fight. But they are sputtering about a billion-handed monster and attempt to beat him with sticks. They do not even use a carefully polished little stone, like David is reputed to have shot so effectively at a giant of old. And besides, Goliath was a fairly human giant with only two legs and two arms.

Capitalism is an utterly inhuman growth and one that boss LaFollette and his friends could not begin to scotch if they got into the saddle of government. The beast would quite run away with them.

LaFollette and his liberal lovers nurse their grudges against big business but still take their living from the workers and farmers whom they continue to delude with their own false hopes of making an impossible system work if they surmount the IF that keeps them out of power.

It is significant that LaFollettte is an "independent republican." He promises no one anything. He is a lonely prophet with lonely followers, and he offers them no "reward in heaven." He knows better than any the tremendous power of the money lords but he still blindly thinks he can hurt them.

He would like everyone to be a smug little Babbitt under the same old production-for-profits system that would only produce again the present concentration of capital. Workers would not be released from wage slavery nor farmers from anything but too high railroad rates.

LaFollette is indeed a grieving "voice crying in the wilderness"—but the world has moved on.

Send in that Subscription Today.

The Unemployment Spectre

The American workers are now being rewarded for their unswerving loyalty to their masters. The American market is glutted with an immense overproduction of goods. The agents of the capitalists have been scurrying thru foreign countries looking for markets to dispose of the goods which fill the domestic warehouses to overflowing.

Wall Street, which has long owned the Republican and Democratic parties, is entirely satisfied with the republican presidential candidates and will be equally sure to have democratic candidates which will perform the tasks imposed by big business.

"Thank God for Coolidge," shriek the big money barons who talk of prosperity in a desperate effort to send their favorite sons to the White House.

But it can't be done that way. Even Cowardly Cal cannot stand in the way of stern economic laws. Over-production, industrial depression, and unemployment have definitely set in. The bosses, with their company unions, their strike breaking scab agencies, their bunk about good will and cooperation, realize that an economic crisis it at hand.

The contented slaves who, during the war period and the post-war building boom, have been loyally working for the bosses, praying for promotion, being good little boys and spurning the unions and the radicals, are being laid off and sent home.

The large cities are over-run with hungry unemployed workers. The signs along the Madison street, Chicago, employment agencies, "NO MEN WANTED," are being duplicated in every city of the land. Wage slaves are forced to hunt for weeks for a job, and they are content to take a job at the masters' price. Families are starving and bread winners are sick with worry. THE UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM AGAIN STALKS ABROAD.

Workers who have laughed at the unions will, for a while be more susceptible to the proven theory that strong working-class political and industrial organizations are necessary if the workers are to have the fundamental right to dictate the conditions and wages under which they shall work.

The Communist slogan, "All power to the workers. Let us take over the factories in the interests of the workers, who produce all wealth and are entitled to enjoy it," will be more popular than in the days of Daugherty.

Let us hope that during the period of unemployment the workers will have time to think of the years wasted in piling up profits for the capitalists, while they receive a meagre wage. Let us hope that the workers will decide to abolish this system of wage slavery.

Easily Satisfied

The progressive bloc in Congress thru representative Nelson of Wisconsin issued a statement congratulating himself and his associates on their splendid accomplishments during the last legislative session. He accuses big business of being a "class conscious group of financiers" whose headquarters is dangerously close to a certain well known street in the lower end of Manhattan Island. We have a sneaking suspicion that the cautious progressive is referring to Wall Street. But it would be a break of congressional ethics to be so rude as to mention the name of the institution from which his party, the Republican party, has always taken its orders.

Mr. Nelson claims credit for everything that was not done in Congress to the "people." He does not however, claim any credit for what was done for the "people." He cannot because there was nothing done of any consequence. It is true a child labor law was passed. But it has yet to run the Supreme Court gauntlet. The Supreme Court is a past master in the art of murdering laws that hurt capitalism even a little bit.

His group helped to whittle down the Mellon plan a little, tho we believe Mellon is on the whole fairly well satisfied. He did not get all he wanted but he has nothing much to kick over. The workers are not worrying very much over tax plans. They have nothing to lose but their chains which are fastened by capitalism. They are now worrying more about unemployment. Mr. Nelson says the capitalists' are class conscious. He is right. They have brains enough to organize their forces on the basis of their class interests. The workers are also learning that lesson. That is the reason they went to St. Paul to organize a class Farmer-Labor party.

Mr. Nelson may be satisfied with the results of the last legislative session. The class conscious workers and exploited farmers are not. The so-called progressives are quite willing to pose as the saviours of the "people" but they deeply resent any effort on the part of the workers to save themselves. Thus we have La Follette slinging feather pillows at Wall Street because it does not give the social layer he represents a comfortable place at the capitalist pie counter and slinging mud at the class conscious workers who insist on abolishing the capitalist system that takes from them the product of their labor. Instead of being a progressive he is a bunion on the sole of progress.

At Last!

Recently while in a facetious mood we remarked in a paragraph that it was surprising that the California capitalists, who blamed the Industrial Workers of the World for almost every other misfortune that befell the sunny state, had not yet charged them with responsibility for the foot and mouth disease which caused a loss of millions of dollars to the cattle breeders of California.

Now, a Mr. Fink, district attorney, solemnly announces that the I. W. W. is responsible for the foot and mouth plague and a general roundup of the wobblies will be launched. Every sex pervert and low grade moron not in jail, will be mobilized by the gentleman with the very appropriate name to beat up and jail the members of the labor organization which is a thorn in the side of the capitalists of California.

It is almost unbelievable that such a charge should be made by a person holding a responsible position and some of our readers may be inclined to dismiss it as a light yarn. But it is a very serious matter for the thousands of workers in California who may be persecuted by these capitalist hell-hounds because they refuse to bend the knee to mammon. The I. W. W. in California should be supported in their fight against the most brutal and lawless section of the American capitalist class by every class conscious worker in that state. And they in turn should realize that district attorneys and other capitalist servants are in a position to use the powers of government against them and their class simply because the workers do not exercise their political power to take over the machinery of government as a step toward the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the rule of labor.

Berry to the Front

George L. Berry, the most outstanding strike-breaker among the reactionary per capita sharks in the American Federation of Labor, opened his campaign headquarters in the Waldorf-Astoria, New York, from which palatial hotel he will conduct his fight for the vice-presidential nomination on the Democratic ticket.

In an announcement, Berry denounced the Republican convention for its reactionary platform. He said the Democratic party had an excellent opportunity to crystallize the progressive spirit thruout the country. In this work the honorable Mr. Berry in his own opinion would be able to render invaluable aid.

Mr. Berry is one of the two outstanding figures in political life today who has made whatever reputations they have thru the breaking of strikes. The other one is Calvin Coolidge. The DAILY WORKER is strongly of the opinion that Calvin is taking credit that belongs to others, when he claims that he was responsible for smashing the Boston Policemen's Union. Samuel Gompers should get the roses. But about Berry's right to the laurel wreath there is no doubt.

He has not alone broken strikes of his own union but he helped himself to union funds and is now the proud boss of several thriving corporations in Tennessee. Labor leader and business man! A good combination, that may not sound so good to the class conscious workers but should sound mighty good to Wall Street. And Sammy who induced La Follette to denounce the communists and the St. Paul convention is for him!

Sillinsky for Tailors' Secretary

The election for General Secretary-Treasurer of the Journeymen Tailors which takes place in the Chicago Local today, differs very radically from the usual A. F. of L. elections. So seldom does the office seeker ask the members of the union to voto for him only if they agree with his platform, that it is unique.

Max J. Sillinsky who hails from Cleveland is the candidate who is appealing to the Chicago Tailors to cast their vote only after giving a careful study of the platforms upon which the numerous candidates are running upon.

Sillinsky or Sweeney.

Although there are some five candidates for the office, the race is actually between Thomas Sweeney, and Max. J. Sillinsky. In spite of the fact that Chicago is the home town of Gus. Soderberg, another one of the candidates, and that he received the nomination from his local union which is the largest in the country, he is not conceded a chance even by his most ardent followers. The sweeping victory by a 9 to 1 majority of Max J. Sillinsky over Soderberg in St. Louis, the second largest local which also nominated Soderberg, has eliminated Soderberg from the race.

The election campaign has been an exceptionally bitter one, especially against Sillinsky. Soderberg and Sweeney although seemingly rivals in the race for office, have formed a united mud-slinging front against Sillinsky, and to the credit of Sillinsky he did not rotaliate. However, the numerous rank and file "Sillinsky for Secretary" committees that have sprung up during this heated controversy, has come to the defense of Sillinsky.

Sweeney Slings Slander.

"The Tailor," official organ of the Journeyman Tailors Union, has been filled with controversal articles on the coming election, all of which has been used to show the virtues of Sweeney and the vices of Sillinsky. The stupid use that Sweeney has made of the "Tailor" to further his own interests must in many quarters react against him. He evidently has no program except one of vilification against Sillinsky,

The rank and file of the Tailors wants to know from the candidates just why they should be elected to the highest office in the union, and Sillinsky is the only one who has stated his program. In St. Louis the supporters of Sillinsky wanted to bring Sweeney, Soderberg and Sillinsky to St. Louis and have the three of them tell the members just why they thought that they should be elected. The Soderberg-Sweeney forces managed to vote this down. The overwhelming victory of Sillinsky was the rebuke of the rank and file to the forces of reaction.

MAX J. SILLINSKY

Candidate for Secretary of Journeymen Tailors' Union.

They Tell it to Sweeney.

Sweeney says that he ought to be re-elected because he was the father of week work. Eneborg, former chairman of the G. E. B., and Robert Funk a member of the G. E. B., says that Sweeney is very careless with the truth, and that everyone knows that it was Sillinsky who fought for a whole week in the 1917 convention for the resolution on week work, which was endorsed by a referendum and written into the constitution.

In an open letter to the local unions, Funk shows clearly that wherever Sweeney has attempted to branch out as a strike leader, the locals affected have failed to nominate him, and that genrally he has avoided strike cities. cities.

Sodenberg's claim for election to the office of Secretary-Treasurer, is that he was responsible for the present standard of wages and working conditions that prevails in the city of Chicago. The rank and file of Chicago takes exception to this. In fact they accuse Soderberg of trying to force them to accept the 90c per hour when they were demanding $1.00 and that later in the controveray, the employers offered another compromise and again Soderberg wanted them to accept, but the rank and file were determined to stand for the $1.00, and in spite of the bosses, and Soderberg they won their point.

A Generous Critic.

Sillinsky, on the other hand, as an organizer and at present as a business agent, has a clear record. The attacks of Sweeney show that for the life of him he cannot get anything on Sillinsky, so Sweeney accused him of everything, from not being a tailor to being a Communist expecting prejudice to do the rest.

Left Wing for Sillinsky.

Sillinsky is far from being a communist. That he is and has been for many years an outstanding progressive, is well known to many outside the Tailors' Union. He is an outspoken champion of industrial unionism in the needle trades thru amalgamation. He believes that the ranks of the working class should be solidified politically as well as industrially. The sordid stories of the Teapot Dome and the many other scandals have political significance to him, so he urges working class political action through a class farmer-labor party.

He urges the protection of the foreign born, rightfully seeing in the vicious selective immigration bills, with its camouflage of "Americanizing the Foreigner," a club in the hands of the capitalist class to destroy organized labor.

For Soviet Recognition.

Recognition of Soviet Russia is another plank in his platform. He goes beyond the liberal attitude of recognizing Russia because it would increase the demand for American made products, but frankly admits that the recognition of Russia by the Tailors is to show their sympathies for the Russian workers as against the world's imperialists.

Organize the unorganized, a campaign of education, a higher standard of living, efficiency, economy and service, along with the regular trade issues and left wing trade demands, complete the program upon which he expects to be elected.

The issues are clear, it is either you vote for a progressive or a reactionary. The left wing in the Journeymen Tailors' Union is a unit. They support and ask the rank and file to elect as their next Secretary Treasurer, Max. J. Sillinsky.

ECHOES OF FARMER-LABOR MEET ARE HEARD IN GASOLINE ALLEY

(Special to The Daily Worker)

ST. LOUIS, Minn., June 20.—When the Coast to Coast cruiser "Ophelia Bumps," piloted by "Bill" Kruse, the DAILY WORKER movie man, arrived at the tourist camp at St. Paul, there were some misgivings over her welcome. The ancient flivver had been parked among Rolls Royce and Packards in the course of her travels, but that was not in St. Paul where the Chamber of Commerce almost footed the bill for a workers' convention.

All doubts were soon dispelled, for "Ophelia" found herself in good company. To the right were two flivvers from St. Louis, one of them run by the old-time Oklahoma war-horse, Stanley J. Clark. Parked with them was a machine from Tennessee. All three bore big banners announcing their destination—"On to St. Paul, to organize a nation-wide Farmer-Labor Party."

Revolutionize Camp.

Behind the presence of these three machines and their load of trade-union delegates is an interesting story of ordinary "Jimmie Higgins" work. Joe Crandall has been a locomotive engineer for many years, and a tireless plugger for working class organization on political and economic fields. He kept plugging at his fellow-workers with literature and subscriptions as well as with a clear-cut, easily-understood line of argument. He made socialists out of many of his shopmates, good, well-founded socialists, too, for with the clarification process of the Russian revolution they moved left with it. In widely separated cities and different industrial pursuits five of Joe's converts heard the call of St. Paul and influenced their local unions to elect them as delegates. And here at the founding of the Farmer-Labor mass class party they meet as fellow delegates, while the rank and filer, whose quiet unnoticed work of years ago, continues on the job as before with new shopmates to be made into new converts and new revolutionists.

Just a bit beyond the Crandal reunion is camped Fred Biedenkapp, who has driven a patched-up Overland all the way from New York. Fred is one of the leading spirits of the Amalgamated Metal Workers and represents that organization, both nationally and locally, at the convention.

On the other side is a group of South Dakota farmers, among them Arvil Anderson, Socialist party candidate for governor of South Dakota, who ran on the St. Louis anti-war program into a berth at Leavenworth. Loyalty to principle cost him every dollar he had in the world, some twenty-five thousand of them, but he is just as active and hard-hitting a fighter as ever.

Ex-Farmer Care-taker.

No need to hide political affiliations here, the care-taker is an old ex-farmer who lost the results of his life's work in the slump of farm prices, and who is now as ardent a Farmer-Laborite as can be found anywhere. A fine type, looking after the campers as tho they were his children, seeing and hearing everything that goes on, unconsciously serving the local Babbitts far better than their $40 per month wages warrant.

Around the campfires the delegates gather and fight over the battles of the day's sessions, and review the strategy of the various leaders— and not always in complimentary terms. It is the private's privilege to grumble into the ashes of his own bivouck fire.

Lying Press Unites Fighters.

The newspapers of St. Paul are being roasted by every delegate in every speech. How the gentle perverters of mass opinion must grieve at this ingratitude. Never was a convention reported more rottenly, and still the delegates are not thankful! In a convention of people representing many shades of opinion every point of unanimous agreement that can be stressed lends just that much more support to the chances for the success of that gathering. On the subject of the venality of the local press there is 100 per cent harmony in the convention. And every time the delegates get ready to disagree about something along comes the press and cements them into a roaring mad, fighting unit. A vote of thanks should be extended to the plute scribes for their work in building up the unity of the convention.

But the man on the street in St. Paul evidently believes that every wearer of the big white delegate button is a Moscow agent. A newspaperman at Fourth and Wabash yelled: "Yes, we have your home town paper—get the DAILY WORKER here."

Saloon to Auto Camp.

Once upon a time the corner saloon was the political forum of the workers. At St. Paul today the scene has shifted. To get the close-up and the low-down on the convention doings, come out to Gasoline Alley, in Cherokee Heights tourist camp. There among the broken and battered Lizzies and Ophelias one hears of the oppressive conditions under which both farmer and wage worker suffer—conditions that drive them together from all parts of the country to make common cause with one another, despite all differences, real or imagined, against their common enemy, the capitalist class.

"Righteous" Riot In R. I.

PROVIDENCE, R. I., June 20.—Providence police who are accustomed to clubbing workers had the unique experience of answering a riot call to the state house, where the senate had joined in a free-for-all fight. Many solons had black eyes and sore ribs, women fainted and were trampled under foot, before the Law'n Order legislature could be quieted by the governor and police. An alleged conspiracy by the Republicans to prevent by force Lieut. Gov. Toupin from presiding over the senate started the fight.

Workers Recognize Reaction.

NEW YORK, June 20. — Revolt against the reactionary platform and candidates of the Republican party is spreading among workers in New York who formerly voted Republican. Over a 1000 voters cheered Congressman F. H. LaGuardia of the 20th New York district at a meeting in which he attacked the Cleveland Republican convention.

Look How Big!

NEW YORK, June 20.—Excess of immigration over emigration and lower death rates are responsible for an increase in population in the United States in 1923 of 1,943,000, according to the National Bureau of Economic Research, which sets the present total at 112,826,000.

British Labor Conference.

LONDON, England, June 20.—Relations of political parties and trades unions to each other, inter-commonwealth relations, political and economic, world peace, migration, racial questions, industrial conditions and legislation will be discussed at the British commonwealth labor conference. The conference will be held in London beginning August 18, with Premier MacDonald in the chair.

Send in that Subscription Today!

The Poor Fish says: I think Coolidge made a mistake in dumping the Old Guard at the convention. They always drew a full house. People would come from all parts to take a look at Lodge's whiskers. Silence may be a good slogan in a hospital, but it is out of place at a convention.

AS WE SEE IT

By T. J. O'FLAHERTY

The New York Nation is satisfied that the last Congress, in spite of its faults was not such a bad congress after all. For one thing, it exposed a lot of corruption. Liberals are gluttons for punishment. They do not want to abolish the rotten social system that breeds corruption. If this corruption could only be kept from exhibiting itself indecently, the liberals would be happy. The last Congress did not function very well for the capitalists. That we will admit. But neither did it do anything for the workers. It was a capitalist congress, but the capitalists quarrel among themselves over the division of the loot with the result that the plans of the big fellows do not always move as smoothly as they would wish.

* * *

What the big capitalists would like better than a congress which does not always carry out the instructions to the letter, is a bald dictatorship such as exists in Italy. But even Mussolini's boasted regime is now tottering and the American papers which up until a few days ago, referred to him as the man who saved Italy from destruction, now mutter, "I told you so." Nothing succeds like success. Only a short time ago the Chicago Daily News published an interview with Mussolini, in which the murder chief was boosted to the skies. It took two seasoned reporters to describe Mussolini the man, and Mussolini the statesman. But he must resort to murder in order to hold his power. His days are numbered. The American capitalists will not look so favorably on Fascism from now on. The money they spent on it is money wasted.

* * *

The dictatorship of the capitalists in the form of Fascism may hold back the wheels of progress for a time, but not for long. Capitalism has outlived its usefulness and must go. It will not go down because it governs thru a dictatorship, but simply because it is no longer able to satisfy the needs of the people. With machinery of production developed to such a point of efficiency that enough of the necessities of life can be produced in a few months to supply the needs of the world for a year, the warehouses are choked with things the workers could use for their upkeep and comfort but which they can not purchase. The result of this crazy system is unemployment and starvation.

* * *

One would imagine that such an obvious deficiency in the capitalist system would open the eyes of the workers to the necessity for making a change. The Communists tell them that the capitalist system must be overthrown and production for use be substituted for production for profit. The capitalists tell the workers that but for capitalism they would starve, because there would be no work. But prominent capitalists die every week yet the wheels of industry do not stop. Things go along as usual because the workers are actually running the industries they do not own. Now, if they can run them profitably for a master, why cannot they run them at least as efficiently for themselves. There seems to me no good reason why they should not.

* * *

The last congress was a bigger failure than usual because the two capitalist parties are breaking down and the small capitalists represented by LaFollette and the so-called progressives are getting pinched by the big ones. Therefore, they are grumbling. They don't want to abolish capitalism, but they want to shove it back into its baby clothes again, and exhibit it to the workers and farmers as a smiling youth without a bit of evil in its system.

* * *

The Socialists and the other brands of reformers have much the same object. The Communists say that attempting to reform a system that is in an advanced stage of decay is as ineffective as putting a mustard plaster on a wooden leg. The thing to do is to begin the reconstruction of society on a Communist basis, but before that work can be started, political power must be taken from the capitalists and all power placed in the hands of the workers.

* * *

"A dictatorship," the liberal will growl, "would smell just as sweet under any other name. But a dictatorship of the workers is more democratic than the abortive democracy that capitalism now boasts in the United States. It would serve the majority of the people who are workers. It would function during the transition period from capitalism to Socialism and unlike the Fascist brand, would be in harmony with evolution. It would be the bridge over which society must pass from capitalism to Communism.

The dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia grows stronger year by year, while the Fascisti in every country are slipping, despite their murderous methods. The capitalists are between the devil and the deep sea. They don't like congress any too well and they are going to have some difficulty in establishing an open dictatorship.

Send in that Subscription Today.

"The idea becomes power when it penetrates the masses." —Karl Marx.

SPECIAL MAGAZINE SUPPLEMENT
THE DAILY WORKER

SECOND SECTION
This magazine supplement will appear every Saturday in The Daily Worker.

JUNE 21, 1924.

Impressions of Russia -

By Moissaye J. Olgin

BEFORE we plunge into a detailed analysis of the Russian economic and political situation, let us cast a glance at the outward appearance of Russian life. We know from statistics that agriculture in Russia has reached 75 per cent of its pre-war output and industry is approaching the 40 per cent mark. To the prejudiced mind it seems a low level, especially in view of the fact that even in 1914 this was not a highly developed industrial country. However, figures alone cannot give an idea of the realities that make up the life of a people, and if comparisons are necessary, they should be made, not with pre-war years of prosperity and economic expansion, but with the years of civil war and revolution, years of economic deterioration, general misery and hunger.

The present writer was in Russia in 1920-21, and the impressions that forced themselves upon him from every direction, produce the picture of a patient who recuperates after a dangerous sickness. When the convalescent is by nature a vigorous fellow with a sound body and optimistic mind, the sight is hopeful, indeed. A country full of hopeful activity, this is how one finds Russia in the spring of 1924.

It is, first of all, a proletarian country. Talk what you might about the new economic policy, about the appearance of the new bourgeois, about his nefarious influence on the poor bedevilled Russian simpletons, when you are in Russia you know all this is bunk. The Nepman is not a leading figure, he is an outcast. He is not aggressive, he is glad to be left alone, which seldom happens since the government of the workers and farmers is after each of his manipulations. The Nepman may fill the theatres of the more conservative kind; he may spend his nights in the shady cabarets that were opened by his fellow Nepmen to satisfy his bourgeois tastes; he may have a banking account and a diamond on his finger. Yet, he is only tolerated. He has no rights. He does not vote. He does not serve in the Red Army as a weapon carrying soldier. He does influence the destinies of the country. He is a temporary evil. Economically he is neither a leading manufacturer, nor a mine operator, nor a railroad magnate, nor a financier, all industries, foreign trade and banking business being in the hands of the proletarian state. What the Nepman's activities are confined to is internal trade of the more petty variety, especially between city and village. Here he is competing, and often successfully, with the government and co-operative stores, but his competition only stimulates the state and public agencies to more efficiency and better adaptation to the peculiarities of the market.

In the sum total of economic and social life, the Nepman is of small account. Nobody is afraid of him, and he himself is aware of his subordinate position. Life in general is dominated by the workers in the cities, by the peasantry in the villages. What you see and what you come in contact with on every step is a government of workers, state and city officials themselves former workers, conferences of workers, conventions of peasants, gatherings of trade unions, clubs of workers and Red Army boys, schools and faculties of workers, demonstrations of workers. It is enough to have a stroll thru a Russian city to recognize that this is a country under the dictatorship of workers. The prevailing garb is that of the worker. The women's headpiece is a red handkerchief. The general tone of life, manners, customs, are those of the proletariat. There is no roughness or crudity in this life, but there is simplicity, directness, amity and a disregard for petrified conventions. The difference between the worker and the so-called intellectual is gradually disappearing. In my dealings with great numbers of Soviet functionaries and trade union people, it is sometimes almost impossible for me to define whether my interlocutor is a former mechanic or a former student. Soviet life has a leveling effect. Former workers have acquired a great amount of information. Former intellectuals are losing their aloof air and their consciousness of being a chosen race. Work of construction is bringing together all the live elements of the proletarian state.

Present Russia is a busy country. I have discovered a monthly magazine called "System and Organization." This is characteristic. System and Organization is the slogan. The Russian worker, the Russian factory manager, the Russian builder, the Russian state official, the Russian trade union leader, the Russian collector of revenue, the Russian agriculturist, the Russian public trader have to relinquish the old sluggishness, the laxity, the "work is no beast, it won't run away to the woods" psychology of czarist times. We have to learn how to do business, or else we will not retain or develop the conquests of the revolution!—this is the prevailing idea. For an outsider who thinks of revolutions only in terms of insurrections, barricades and red banners, it may be strange to discover that a revolution is busy with calculating indices of prices, with stabilizing the currency, with increasing the output of manufactured commodities, with improving transportation, with tinkering in a thousand and one fashion around the economic apparatus of the country. The proletariat has conquered power. The proletariat has taken into its hands the economic organization. It could not improve it as long as it was forced to fight for its supremacy against external and internal foes. Now that power is secured and foreign intervention is not likely, work of reconstruction becomes the most imperative problem.

And the work is carried on on a gigantic scale. The first task was to free the state organization from its superfluous ballast. In the times of compulsory labor and state rations, everybody had to be given some kind of work, if only nominal. State offices were overcrowded with functionaries who did very little, who could not do much because they did not know how and because the average vitality of the population was 60 per cent below normal. In the last two years the state machinery has been undergoing a vigorous cleaning. The incapable or inactive had to go. The remaining were given a living wage so they

(Continued on page 8)

A DEMONSTRATION OF AGRICULTURAL WORKERS IN OSAKI

THE PHILISTINE DISCOURSETH

By L. Trotsky

IN one of the many books containing pronouncements of prominent men regarding Lenin, I came across an article by the English novelist H. G. Wells entitled, "The Dreamer of the Kremlin." The editor of the book makes the observation, that "even such advanced people as Wells failed to understand the import of the proletarian revolution proceeding in Russia." It would appear as if this is not regarded as a sufficient reason for refraining from publishing Mr. Wells' article in a book which is devoted to the leader of this revolution. But it is not worth while worrying oneself about this: I at least read some of the pages of Wells not without interest, but this was not the fault of the author as will be seen from what follows.

One can still vividly call to mind those days when Wells paid a visit to Moscow. This was during the cold and hunger of the winter of 1920-21. There were already premonitions of the complications which were to follow in the spring. Starving Moscow was wrapped in snow. Our economic policy stood before a sudden and thorough-going change. I very well remember the impression which Vladimir Ilyitch derived from Wells: "Ugh! What a narrow petty bourgeois! Ugh! What a Philistine!" he repeated, raising his hands over the table with that laugh and that exhalation of the breath which was characteristic of him when he ever felt a sort of inner shame on account of another man. "Ugh! What a Philistine," he repeated when he again called to mind that conversation. This conversation between Lenin and myself took place before the opening of a sitting of the Political Bureau and was practically confined to a repetition of the above-mentioned terse characterization of Wells. But this was quite sufficient. For myself, I had read little of Wells and had never met him personally. But I was able to envisage in a fairly clear manner this picture of the English drawing-room socialist, of the Fabian, of the writer of phantasies and Utopias, who had come to view the Communist experiments. And the exclamation of Lenin, and in particular the tone in which he made this exclamation, enabled me to fill in the remaining features with little difficulty. And now this article by Wells, which in some inexplicable manner has found its way into the pages of the collection of articles on Lenin, not only revives in my mind that exclamation of Lenin's but has also filled it with a vivid content. For if in the article by Wells there is practically no trace of Lenin, one can see Wells in it as plain as plain can be.

Let us begin with the introductory complaint of Wells: He was compelled, just think, to take extraordinary pains in order to be able to speak with Lenin, which "annoyed him (Wells) very much." Why, pray? Had Lenin summoned Wells? Had he pledged himself to give him a reception, or had he so much free time on his hands? On the contrary. In those extremely difficult days he was occupied every minute of his time; he could not so easily find a free hour in order to receive Wells. This should not have been difficult for a foreigner to understand. But the whole trouble was that Mr. Wells, as a distinguished foreigner—and with all his "Socialism" a most conservative Englishman of the imperialist type—was filled with the conviction that he was conferring a great honor upon this barbarian country and its leader by condescending to visit it. The whole article of Wells, from the first to the last line, stinks of unwarranted, smug self-conceit.

The characterization of Lenin begins, as was to be expected, with a discovery. Lenin, only think, "is in no way a writer." Who, indeed is better able to decide this question than the professional writer Wells? "The short, sharp pamphlets which appeared in Moscow under his (Lenin's) signature (!), full of erroneous assumptions over the psychology of the western workers, . . . express very little of the real essence of Lenin's thought." The worthy gentleman is of course, unaware of the fact that Lenin has written a great number of works of the highest importance on the agrarian question, on theoretical economy, on sociology and on philosophy. Wells is only familiar with "short sharp pamphlets" with regard to which he remarks that they merely appear "under Lenin's signature" that is, he insinuates that they are written by other people. The true "essence of Lenin's thought" is to be found, not in the dozens of volumes written by him, but in that conversation, lasting but one hour, which the most illustrious visitor from Great Britain most graciously deigned to hold.

One could at least expect from Wells an interesting sketch of Lenin's outward appearance, and for the sake of one well-portrayed feature we would have been ready to pardon him for all his Fabian trivialities. But the article does not contain even this. "Lenin has a pleasant brunette (!) countenance, with an everchanging expression and a lively smile. . . ." "He offers very little resemblance to his photographs . . ." "He gesticulates a little when speaking . . ." Mr. Wells did not get beyond the banalties of the average reporter to a capitalist newspaper. For the rest, he made the further discovery that the shape of Lenin's head reminds one of that of Lord Balfour's, it being long and somewhat unsymmetrical, and that as regards his figure, he is a "small man; when he is sitting on the edge of his chair his feet barely touch the floor." As regards the shape of Lord Balfour's head we are unable to say anything concerning this dignified piece of anatomy and are quite prepared to believe that it is long. But for the rest—what an impolite piece of carelessness! Lenin was a somewhat reddish-blond type of man. He can in no wise be described as being a brunette. He was of medium stature, perhaps a trifle under the average height; but that he gave the impression of being a small man and that when seated he could hardly touch the floor with his feet, this could only be apparent to Mr. Wells who, with the self-confidence of a civilized Gulliver had penetrated into the country of the northern Communist Liliputians. Mr. Wells further remarks that Lenin in the pauses of the conversation had the habit of lifting the edge of his cap with his finger. "Perhaps this habit arose from defective vision," suggests the very discerning writer. We are quite familiar with this gesture. It was to be observed when Lenin had before him a man with whom he was entirely unacquainted, at whom he took a rapid glance through his fingers while they rested on the peak of his cap. Lenin's "defective sight" consisted in his seeing through and through the man with whom he conversed; through his puffed up self-conceit, his narrow-mindedness, his civilized haughtiness and civilized ignorance, and after he had taken this picture into his consciousness, he long afterwards shook his head and exclaimed "What a Philistine! What a thorough-bred petty bourgeois!"

The conversation took place in the presence of Comrade Rothstein, and Wells, in passing, makes the discovery that his presence "is characteristic for the actual situation in Russia": Rothstein, as one could see, was controlling Lenin on behalf of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, in view of the excessive candor of Lenin and of his dreamy lack of caution. What can one say regarding this precious observation? When Wells entered the Kremlin he brought with him in his consciousness all the rubbish heap of international bourgeois presumptions, and with his lynx-eyed sharpness—oh, of course there was no "defective vision" there—he discovered in Lenin's study all that he had previously sucked in from The Times or some other reservoir of the hair-oil and spats brigade.

In what now consisted the real import of the conversation? As regards this we receive from Mr. Wells some pretty hopeless commonplaces, which show how wretched and barren Lenin's thoughts appear after passing through the prism of another mind, regarding the symmetry of which there is not the least occasion to doubt.

Wells came with the idea that "he would have to enter into a dispute with a thoroughly convinced doctrinaire Marxist, but as a matter of fact nothing of the kind occurred." We are not surprised at this. We of course, know already that the "essence of Lenin's thoughts" was not revealed by his activity, extending over

Uncle Sam's Marines protecting Wall Street's interests in Honduras.

thirty years, as a politician and writer, but in his conversation with the English citizen. "I had been told," continues Wells, "that Lenin was very fond of teaching, but he did not do this with me." How indeed could one teach a gentleman so overfilled with high self-estimation?

That Lenin loved to teach is, in general, not true. What is true is that Lenin was able to speak in a very instructive manner. But he only did this when he was of the opinion that the man with whom he was conversing was capable of learning something. In such cases he spared neither time nor pains. But as regards the magnificent Gulliver, who by good fortune had been able to enter the study of the "small man," after two or three minutes conversation with him, Lenin was forced to arrive at the unshakeable conviction — perchance in the spirit of the inscription over the portal of Dante's Inferno—"Abandon all hope!"

The conversation dealt with the subject of large towns. As Wells remarks, the idea first occurred to him in Russia that the outward aspect of a town is determined by the trade in the shops and in the markets. He retailed this discovery to Lenin in his conversation. Lenin "admitted" that under Communism the towns are becoming considerably smaller in extent. Wells "pointed out" to Lenin that the renovation of the towns entailed a gigantic work and that many huge buildings in Petrograd only retained their value as historical memorials. Lenin also assented to this incomparable commonplace on the part of Mr. Wells. "It seemed to me," adds the latter, "that it was agreeable to him to be able to speak with a man who understood those unavoidable consequences of Collectivism which had escaped the minds of many of his own followers." Here you have an appropriate measure for judging the mentality of Mr. Wells! He regards as the fruit of his own wonderful acumen, the discovery that under Communism the present concentrated urban agglomerations will disappear and that many of the present capitalist architectural monstrosities will only retain their value as historical memorials (if they do not merit the honor of being destroyed). How, of course, should the poor Communists ("the weary fanatics of the class struggle," as Wells calls them) hit upon such discoveries, which for the rest, have long since been set forth in the popular commentary upon the old program of the German Social Democracy. We will not elaborate on the fact that all this was already well known to the classical Utopians.

Now I hope you will understand why Mr. Wells "failed to remark" that laugh of Lenin's of which he had heard so much. It was not a laughing matter for Lenin. I even fear that his jaws were being moved by a reflex action directly opposed to laughter. But here Lenin had recourse to the service of his dexterous and skillful hand, which was always ready to conceal in good time the impolite yawn from a man too much charmed with his own conversation.

As we have already heard Lenin did not teach Wells—for reasons which we consider quite justified. As compensation therefore Wells was most emphatic in teaching Lenin. He imparted to him the very original idea that for the success of Socialism "it is necessary, not only to build up the material side of life, but also the psychology of the whole people." He pointed out to Lenin, that "the Russians are by nature individuals and merchants." He explained to him that Communism was "immoderately hasty and destroyed before it was able to build, and other things to the same effect. "That led us," relates Wells, "to the fundamental point of the differences of opinion between us, to the differences between evolutionary Collectivism and Marxism." Under evolutionary Collectivism one must understand the Fabian concoction of Liberalism, Philanthrophy, economic social legislation and Sunday homilies regarding a better future. Wells himself formulates the essence of evolutionary Collectivism as follows: "I believe that by means of a regulated system of education of society, the existing capitalist order can become civilized and transformed into a collectivist one." Wells himself does not explain who will carry out and upon whom will be carried out this "regulated system of education": the Lords with the long skulls upon the English proletariat, or vice versa, the proletariat upon the skulls of the Lords? Oh no, anything you like, but not the latter! For what purpose do there exist in the world these enlightened Fabians, the men of thought, of altruistic conduct, ladies and gentlemen, like Mrs. Snowden and Mr. Wells, if not—by means of a regulated and prolonged exuding of that which is hiding itself under their own skulls—to civilize capitalist society and to transform it into a collectivist one with such reasonable and happy "gradualism," that even the Royal Dynasty of Great Britain will not perceive it?

All this was set forth by Wells to Lenin and to all this Lenin listened. "For myself," Wells graciously remarks, "it was downright refreshing (!) to speak with this exceptional, small man." But for Lenin? Oh, long-suffering Ilyitch! He was probably pronouncing under his breath some very expressive and spicy Russian words. He did not translate them out loud into English, not only probably because his English vocabulary did not extend so far, but also out of considerations of politeness. Ilyitch was very polite. "He was compelled," says Wells, "to reply to me by declaring that modern capitalism is incurably greedy and wasteful and that it is incapable of learning anything." Lenin referred to a number of facts which, among others, are contained in a recent book by Chiozza Money: Capi-

(Continued on page 7)

Canadian Labor in Politics -

By LOUIS ZOOBOCK

THE Canadian movement has been and still is dominated by various influences and streams of thought. Some of these influences helped to check the movement for independent political action among the organized workers of Canada; other influences stimulated the interest of the workers in public affairs and led to a greater zeal in extending political organization of labor.

Among the first, we find the A. F. of L. with which the majority of the Canadian organizations are affiliated, and under the influences of which their policies have been largely determined.

More recently there is evident the great influence of the British Labor movement from which so many workers of Canada have come and with which they keep more or less in touch. Then we have the influence of the Workers Party of Canada and the T. U. E. L., which work for the establishment of a United Labor Party of Canada; and lastly we have the world-wide dynamic of the Russian Revolution; the vast experiment in Proletarian rule which has captured the imagination of the workers the world over.

Until very recently, organized labor in Canada took comparatively little interest in politics. The policy of the A. F. of L. did not encourage independent political action. Under the influence of the American headquarters the actions and decisions of the United States Court were probably more discussed in Canadian unions than were those of the Canadian provinces.

Gradually, however, the workers of Canada began to lose faith in this policy. Resentment against the prepondering influence of the American officials began to spread. It manifested itself in a movement toward a more efficient form of organization than that of craft-unionism as well as in a movement for independent political action. The workers of Canada began to realize that they have too long given fair trials to the various political parties. Under the stimulus of immigrant English and Scotch workers, the local trades and labor councils began to appoint labor representation committees. These endorsed and nominated candidates for municipal and sometimes parliamentary office.

The activities of the local trades and labor council had a tremendous influence upon the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, the dominant labor organization. In spite of the fact that the connections of the congress wtih the A. F. of L. have been close, it began to show an increasingly marked tendency to break away from the traditions of the A. F. of L.

As early as 1900, the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada went on record as in favor of independent political action on the part of labor. At other annual meetings a group of radical delegates demanded that the Congress should become the head of a Labor Party. The 1906 Congress went on record as in favor of a policy of provincial autonomy in the formation of provincial autonomy in the formation of workingclass political organization.

This action of the convention was merely a move to satisfy the local organizations in their demand for independent political action. True the Trades Congress had promulgated annually a political program which included a demand for a legal working day of six hours, for a minimum living wage based on local conditions, for public ownership of all public utilities, etc.; but it confined its activities in furtherance of this program to the attempt to influence legislation by conference with and recommendations to the leaders of legislative bodies.

The year 1917 witnessed a departure from that policy. Resolutions were adopted in favor of the formation of a Dominion-wide Labor-Party; a party based upon a program and organized along the lines similar to those of the British Labor Party.

The Independent Labor Party of Ontario.

Ontario was the first province to take the initiative in inaugurating the new policy. In July, 1917, the labor leaders of that province called a convention which resulted in the formation of the Independent Labor Party of Ontario. The aim of the party was to unite all workers of whatever shade of political opinions and labor affiliations. It adopted by-laws providing that no member of the party might retain membership in any other political organization and that no candidate of any of the old capitalistic parties should be endorsed by the party. The platform, among many other things, included declarations in favor of public ownership of all sources of wealth, the nationalization of banking and credit systems, the legislative action thru the initiative and recall, etc. It further anounced: "That we stand for the industrial freedom for those who toil and the political liberations of those who for so long have been denied justice."

The Trades and Labor Congress approves the formation of a labor party.

The annual convention of the Trades and Labor Congress was held in Sept. 1917. It formally approved the work of the Independent Labor Party of Ontario and adopted resolutions urging that the Ontario party be expanded to cover the Dominion, and that "the workers of Canada should follow British precedent and organize a Labor Party upon such a basis that trade unionists, socialists, fabians co-operators and farmers can united to promote legislation in the best interests of wealth producers of the Nation."

The recommendation of the convention was approved by all labor organizations thruout the length and breath of the Dominion. An intensive campaign for the formation of labor political organizations began in all provinces. And a result, there has been established in eight of the nine provinces of Canada some form of labor political party.

In Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Ontario are found organizations under the name of Independent Labor Party. In Quebec we find the Labor Party; in Manitoba are found two labor political organizations—the Independent Labor Party and the Dominion Labor Party. In Saskatchewan is found the Labor Representation League and the Federated Farmer Labor Party. In Alberta, you have the Dominion Labor Party; and in British Columbia—the Federated Labor Party is the recognized labor political organization.

The provincial organizations adopted different programs; programs which vary in scope and temper. But in all of them we can read one determination: the desire to secure control of the legislative machinery with a view of furtherance of a program of social reconstruction in the interest of the working classes.

Thus in British Columbia a platform was adopted which stated: "The Federated Labor party is organized for the purpose of securing industrial legislation and the collective ownership and democratic control of the means of wealth production."

And in Manitoba, a platform was adopted which included as its first plank the statement: "The Labor party stands for the transition of capital-property into working class property to be socially owned and used."

The Canadian Labor Party.

The labor political organizations in the various provinces and in many cases in the different cities have sprung up independently and each drafted its own program. Two efforts toward unification have been made: in 1921, at the meeting of the Trade and Labor Congress in Winnipeg, there was organized a Canadian Labor party. The general object of the party, as stated by its promoters, is to unify the political powers of the worker and generally to promote their political, economic and social welfare. The platform adopted was very mild in tone. The preamble stated: "We have in view a complete change in our present economic and social system. In this we recognize our solidarity with the workers the world over."

Another attempt at unification of the political organization is being made by the Workers Party of Canada and by the T. U. E. L. They condemn the secessionist movement in the industrial field and they use all their influence within the unions and the provincial political roganizations to bring about the unification of the isolated groups into one strong Canadian Labor party.

Progress Made.

The movement towards political action on the part of Canadian labor, during its brief period of life, has met with some success. At present all the provincial parties have one or more candidates in their respective legislatures: The I. L. P. of Ontario in 1919 elected 11 nominees; in the same year, two labor candidates were elected to the Quebec legislature. In the Manitoba elections, held in June, 1920, 11 labor candidates were elected to the legislatue, but in the provincial elections held in that province in July, 1922, only six labor men were elected. The I. L. P. of Nova Scotia elected five candidates to the legislature in July, 1920. In New Brunswick, two labor men were elected in the general provincial election held in October, 1920; and three labor representatives were elected to the British Columbia legislature in December, 1920. In 1921, in the Saskatchewan general election, one labor representative was successful; and in Alberta, 4.

In the general election for the Dominion Parliament, held in December, 1921, two labor men and five farmer-labor candidates were elected. In the general election for the Quebec legislature, held on Feb. 5, 1923, there were five labor candidates, only one of whom was elected. In the municipal elections in 1923, of 111 candidates nominated by labor 63 were successful, etc.

This briefly outlines the progress made by the various political organizations by Canada. The most important task at present is to consolidate all these groups; to affiliate them with the Canadian Labor party. In this task the Workers Party of Canada is playing the most important role: it uses its influence wherever possible to help bring about a united Canadian Labor party.

In the various provincial organizations the question of affiliation with he Canadian Labor party is now being discussed. Many organizations have already affiliated. An interesting development had taken place in the I. L. P. of Nova Scotia. At its third annual convention held in Sydney, on July 25-26, 1922, the following resolution was adopted: "We, the I. L. P. of Canada, Nova Scotia branch, declare the identity of our aims and platform with the principals and policy of the class conscious workers of the world. We recognize that industry today is a monopoly of the capitalist who will not let it function for whatever need, except for profit. Hence the workers can secure the means of life only with their permission and only on their terms. The capitalists are masters, the workers slaves.

To protect their property privileges the capitalists secure control of the machinery of government and the directions of public policy. Efforts of the workers to free themselves on the industrial field are thus inevitably faced by the opposition of the full power of the state. Hence it is necessary for the working class to secure political supremacy.

Therefore, we call on all workers, whether by hand or brain, to come out from the old political parties, which divide the workers in order to destroy them, and to unite with their fellow workers under the banner of the I. L. P. of Canada, Nova Scotia branch, to the end that:

1. The capitalist system be abolished.
2. That industry be conducted for use instead of for profit.

The constitution of the party was amended so as to permit the affiliation of branches of the Workers Party and other revolutionary bodies. A motion was also passed for the affiliation of the I. L. P. of Nova Scotia with the Canadian Labor party.

Thus, we see that labor in Canada has definitely entered the field of political action. In nearly all the provinces, as shown, the workers are becoming active in municipal affairs. The workers have elected representatives to the provincial legislatures; they have sent two labor candidates to the Dominion parliament; in a number of constituencies the farmer candidates owe their election to the support of organized labor. In a word, a real Labor party is now emerging in Canada.

THE BOURGEOIS

By Oscar Kanehl.

Who stretches on downs.
Who, in boxes sprawls.

Who in palaces dwells.
Who takes care of health.

Who sparkles of diamond-curse.
Who sits on the money-purse.

Who is stuffing the belly.
Who always is merry.

Who ever is smoothed; who perfumed; who fully dressed;
Who with "honor," "moral," and "fine taste,"

Who with monocle; who with blue eyes,
Who with epaulets; who is ever nice.

Who bows thrones and altars along
The subject, who obeys and holds his tongue;

Who hunted us into war and hate,
Who belied us; early and late.

Who with bayonets and machine guns,
Workers, your revolution overruns.

Burgher he is called; bourgeois or burgher,
Working people; that is your murderer.

He sucks your blood; he eats your bread;
He imprisons you; he shoots you dead.

With him, no freedom for you sent,
Get up, prolet! For the judgment!

Trans. Paul Acel.

POSTAL WORKERS STOP CANADIAN SERVICE IN STRIKE FOR MORE PAY

(Special to the DAILY WORKER.)

TORONTO, Ont., June 20.—Postal service thruout Canada was tied up today, leaders of the postal workers' organization asserted, following issuance of the strike call at 5 p. m. Wednesday.

Strike leaders said the tie-up was complete in Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal and Quebec City and that advices from the west indicated the workers in principal cities there had quit practically as a unit.

Yesterday's conference between leaders of the workers and the government was completely unsatisfactory, the committee of the cabinet refusing to consider a demand for increased wages.

A Typical Principal Unbosoms - -

BY A TEACHER

IN the ossified hierarchy of educationalism, I am the most tragi-comic figure (figurehead, if you will). My holy functions are clerical, tho not in the religious sense. I don't know exactly what honorable purpose I am supposed to serve. I take orders and give them. I mark and remark. I originate nothing. I inspire nobody. I am not conscious of large liberating social aims (tho on appropriate occasions I pretend to be.) I am not even interested in stirring social problems. I pretend to scholarship, but I have none. I am so pre-occupied with the routine of administration and sheer externals that I find little time for favorite recreations and no time or disposition for keeping abreast of modern scholarship.

I talk virtue day in and day out, but sadly I confess that I have read very few books on Sociology or Anthropology or Economics or Philosophy. Nor have I ever deeply analyzed the social forces that corrupt our American life.

I am a great success with my teachers, for they know even less than I do (tho at first blush such a statement will sound like a wild exaggeration.) I coax or flatter or wheedle or bully them into respecting me. I snap the whip of marks above their heads, and they learn to dance to my syncopated music.

I exact obedience by punishing and humiliating eccentric originality. Naturally. My superiors act no more generously than I do. My teachers fear me. I fear my superiors. And so on up the mount of glory!

Oh, if a principal could only see his mind's reflections in the mirror of truth, he would flee to a monastery to expiate his sins of omission. But principals are notoriously afflicted with opthalmia. They can't see their own manifest shortcomings. Why should they? Where ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly—to be ignorant!

I happen to be a principal with conscience. I know how very little I accomplish. Whatever originality does flourish in the school system flourishes in spite of the official killjoys. What do we principals know about child nature? What do we know about defective children? What do we know about child geniuses? (We usually class them with defectives, too). What do we know of the personal life of our children, of their struggles at home, their poverty, their dreams, their discouragements, their thwarted ambitions, their daily drudge environments? What do we KNOW?

We hold monthly conferences so intolerably wearisome and pointless that the sermons of superannuated priests seem by contrast inspiring. Why are our conferences so deadening, so stuffy, so sterile? For the simplest of reasons. WE HAVEN'T THE COURAGE TO DISCUSS THE VITAL PROBLEMS OF OUR DAY AND GENERATION.

We haven't the courage to defy our meddling and antiquated superiors whose hostility to the fundamentals of sincere democracy has brought the school system to its present unbelievably low level. If we were men of vision and courage, we would use these conferences as laboratory periods for the frank discussion of every issue that troubles the consciences and minds of the common run of men. Especially would we seek light and wisdom on the eternally vital subjects of economic quality, the sex life of boys and girls, the deep problems of evil, the history of exploitation, the analysis of class struggles in society, the profound meanings of evolution, the function of revolution in accelerating—in short, no theme revelant to the philosophy of amelioration of the common lot would escape our sincere analysis. The school as the laboratory of an informal philosophy of everyday life: that strikes me, in sympathy with modern aspiration, as a worthy ideal in democratic education.

A principal might become a promoter of social enlightment if he acquired insight into our nation's maladjustments, and bravely took a thinker's part in the momentous discussions of a world in revolutionary ferment. As a disillusioned principal, I have to admit that our educational system does not seriously concern itself with the problems of the technique of fruitful thinking.

Principals are woeful ignoramuses. Their clerkships do not challenge their finer energies to intellectual exertion. Routine, more routine, bluff and show, pretense and hauteur, polished exterior and dismal interior, frigid smiles and rigid good manners, puerile aversion to social responsibility, a barren "impartiality" on all living questions (as though life were a series of yeas and nays)—what can we await from little busybodies parading incognito as principals?

Pity the principal; he can't honestly tell you why he has been promoted to glory and ineptitude. We principals all suffer from mental ankylosis.

Suppose I, as a radical educator, disciple of Montessori, exhorted my fellow-principals to adopt as their guiding ideals her two doctrines of complete individuality and of complete freedom, what response would they evince? How strange these words would sound to puppet-principals: "Each person manifests in a unique way the mysterious life force and attains the direction given by his individual impulses. That the individual in maturing his powers and becoming adapted to social life thru education develops best in the absence of conventional restrictions on his individuality."

Principals are so accustomed (thru sheer mental laziness) to taking the school system as it is for granted that they would eschew as impertinent (or, at best, as theoretical and visionary) the central principle of progressive education as enunciated, for example, by William Boyd, the English lecturer on education: "Montessori's problem is the standing problem of democratic education. With political institutions like ours, requiring for their successful working an intelligent populace, it is intolerable that the children who are to be the citizens of the future should continue to be educated under conditions that tend to discourage initiative and to minimize individuality."

It may sound blasphemous to the orthodox, but it is the plainest truth that a majority of principals have no philosophy of education at all. Why, the very endurance test which is imposed upon the candidates for the principality has no conceivable relation to the human aspect or implications of education. None whatever. The most astounding dullard (so far as an educational insight into the vexing problems of our social life is concerned) may come out with flying colors as a principal-elect. Another willing routineer has been added to the long procession of machine men dedicated to the inspiring mission of turning out (excellent phrase!) certified parrots, monkeys, dogs, oxen, asses—but never, oh, never, vivacious, original, critical and courageous human beings.

Let me ask another thorny question: Are principals of any assistance to their harassed teachers, or are they usually an intrusion and a hindrance? The query is its own answer. Teachers who have been in the "system" as long as ten, fifteen, twenty years have confessed that their official superiors, either thru lack of ability or lack of time, have been utterly meaningless to them in their pedagogic pursuits.

Principals not only do not know what is actually going on in the various classrooms; they are often incapable of helping a distressed or backward teacher to improve upon his work. In fact, principals function as detectives, rather than as educators. As a rule, principals have very ordinary teaching ability. They are frequently enough hail fellows, well met, ready with a newspaper joke or a Longfellow poem, fairly good business men, good-naturedly contemptuous of their "inferior" brethren, humorously self-sufficient in their ignorance, hostile to radical ideas, content with mechanical success, self-complacent to the point of boredom.

Think how much better it would be for the welfare of education in general, and for the cultural emancipation of teachers and pupils in particular, if in each school teachers and pupils had a vote in the choice of their Guild Governing Committee, to consist of several teachers and several representative students (elected, of course, by the students) duly endowed with power to "run" the school. Democratic tendencies in education point in that direction.

Such a radical reconstruction would aim a finely effective blow at the pernicious superior-inferior relationship so full of mischief for the future of democracy in education. Not until strategically situated superiors have been reabsorbed into the common activities of the rank and file can sincere and far-reaching democracy achieve any distinction or potency in our public school system.

On with the educational revolution! All power to the Teachers' Guilds!

THE ASS AND THE ELEPHANT

By G. D. BAIL.

(With apologies to the honest ones if they will come out from among them)

Two groups of crooks down in D. C.,
Both groups as crooked as crooks can be;
One group was trained by Baalam's Ass,
The other was in the Elephant's class.

The leader of the latter says unto its mate,
Let us rob Uncle Sam of his estate;
If we work together in secrecy and stealth,
We will both fall heir to a mint of wealth.

Yonder in the west under sun and moon,
Majestically stands a teapot dome:
Its bowels laden with minerals and oil,
We'll gold brick Uncle Sam, then divide the spoil.

The secretary of the navy being very wise,
Was an easy subject to hypnotize.
So the trick was turned, a lease was drawn,
Between midnight and early dawn.

Now says the elephant, we have gotten a lease,
'Twill be quite easy the public to fleece;
I'll appoint a man to steer the game,
The Ass will see that counsel's retained.

Then the Ass began to soliloquize,
"I've got my enemy by the hip and thigh,
I'll wait 'till nineteen and twenty-four,
Perhaps I'll learn a little more."

Then I'll expose the G. O. P.'s.
Hee-haw, hee-haw, hee-haw, hee's.
My enemies then will be tramping home,
Bidding adieu to the teapot dome.

But lo and behold, these crooks fell out,
With its trunk the Elephant began to spout;
This roiled the Ass, so he spilled the beans,
And now the press is chronicling the scenes.

Ye gods, dear people, where are we at?
Shall we longer support these old stand pats?
It's six of one, half dozen of 'tother,
They stick together like big twin brothers.

One group once said, "The public be damned."
They both have managed to grab all the land;
They control all the waters, the air they would scoop,
It is doubtful if satan would harbor these groups.

There are forty-eight states now under the flag,
Not one of which either group could bag,
If we all stand together in one common cause,
We can save Uncle Sam from the capitalists' claws.

Wake up, good people, open your eyes,
You who never have, now use your franchise,
Retire these crooks, send all of them home,
Then we'll recover what's stolen, including the dome.

The Farmers and Workers have issued a Call,
For all the progressives to meet in Saint Paul,
And abandon all differences that's kept us apart,
Then all stand together and make a new start.

To do this, the Denbys, Dohenys, and Falls,
Daughertys, Sinclairs, and Tammany Hall,
Wall Street who now all the presidents name,
Must all, with their followers, get out of the game.

A ROYAL BEGGAR

King of Roumania playing to the bankers.

TECHNICAL AID-FREIHEIT PICNIC POSTPONED TO JUNE 28—TAKE NOTE

The picnic planned for June 8 by the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia and by the Freiheit was postponed on account of the bad weather to June 28, at Stickney Park, Lyons, Ill. Those who had tickets for June 8 can use them on June 28.

Those who have not yet procured tickets may get them at the Soviet School, 1902 W. Division St.; Russian Co-op Restaurant, 1734 W. Division St.; Freiheit office, 1145 Blue Island Ave.; Cheski's Restaurant, 3124 W. Roosevelt Road.

On Population and Birth Control

By CHARLES BROWER

PERHAPS you are one of those who, in recent years, have been guilty of thinking about some of the evils confronting society — unemployment with its attendant misery, reduction in the standard of living of the working masses, danger of future wars. Perhaps you are one of those who advocate drastic measures for the elimination of these evils. You may have been converted to such heresies as unemployment insurance, moratoriums on rents for the unemployed, shortening of the working day. Possibly you may have been so far corrupted by the "foreigners" as to believe that the only solution for our present-day evils lay in the elimination of capitalism. If so, then you have been all wrong. Our learned professors have studied the problem carefully. They conclude that our present-day evils are due to over-population, there are too many of us on God's earth. The remedy, according to the Prof, lies in (quietly, don't allow Mr. Sumner to overhear us)—birth-control.

At the beginning of the last century the attention of the world was focused on the problem of population. Modern industrial capitalism was then in its birth-throes. In England (the classic land of capitalism) the introduction of machinery was accompanied by dire want and misery of the working masses. Numerous workers, displaced by machinery, were thrown upon the streets. Before there could be an adjustment and industry could expand sufficiently to absorb these workers, who had been displaced by machinery, many of them were actually starving. The Fuddite strikes were a direct outcome of this condition. The workers, driven by hunger and want to a point of despair, attempted to break the machines which had robbed them of their bread and butter. At that time there came to the fore a priest named Malthus, and promulgated the doctrine of population. According to Malthus the misery and want of the workers was not due to capitalism but to over-population. Workers starved because there were too many of them on this planet. Being a preacher, Malthus, naturally based his doctrine on a Bible text, "Many are called but few are chosen."

Since the days of Malthus the population of the world has more than doubled and Mother Earth has not as yet collapsed underneath its weight. It still makes its daily round, spinning about the sun as in the good old days, but in recent years economic conditions have again brought the problem to the fore. Dislocation of production resulting from the war has brought millions of workers (particularly in Europe) face to face with misery and starvation. Large sections of the working class are losing faith in the present system. Such heresies as socialism, communism, bolshevism, are gaining adherents daily. Under these conditions it is but natural that an effort be made on the part of the apologists for the status-quo to divert the attention of the workers from the true cause of their suffering. Accordingly, the doctrine of old Malthus has been unearthed, polished, and brought up to date with the aid of modern statistics. And once again we are told (this time by professors) that the misery of the workers is due to over-population. The cure is then very simple indeed. All we have to do is to practice birth-control, and all the present-day evils will disappear.

Listen to one of these Profs: "Everywhere the poorer groups are found to have the larger families, and everywhere poverty and a high birth rate act and react upon one another. If the birth rate is uncontrolled, the family is dragged down to poverty; if the parents are poor they lack the spirit of control. Whichever be the dominant factor the result remains: poverty and a high birth rate go hand in hand. The inference is irresistible, that where the birth rate is uncontrolled poverty will continue." (The Problem of Population, p. 129-30, by Harold Cox. G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1923.)

You see, this Prof is not quite certain as to which causes which—whether poverty is due to big families or big families are the result of poverty. It is like the problem of which came first, the chicken or the egg. Another Prof is more certain. He says: "Such figures, which could be cited more extensively if necessary, make out a fair case for the statement that large families and hardships within the family are too often matters of cause and effect. The destruction of the poor is not wholly due to the wicked capitalist who compels them to live in poverty; it is due to lack of intelligence, which depresses their productive value to society, and the ignorance which results in their dividing their meager possessions among many instead of among few." (Mankind at the Cross Roads, p. 332-333, by Edward M. East. Charles Scribner's Sons, N. Y., 1923.)

Hence, according to our learned Prof., the destruction of the poor is due to lack of intelligence . . . Perhaps he is right, after all. The willingness on the part of the poor to submit to the rule of the Rockefellers, Morgans, etc., may be evidence of lack of intelligence. It recalls to mind the incident of Judge Gary, who when asked as to whether a certain sum per week was enough for a workingman, replied: "I suppose it is if he is willing to accept it." At any rate we have to be thankful to the learned gentleman for inserting the word "wholly." In other words, he admits that the destruction of the poor is in part at least due to the capitalist, who compels them to live in poverty.

Note again that according to the Prof the cause of the hardship within your family is the size of your family. Your difficulties lie not in the meagreness of your pay envelope but in the fact that you have too many mouths to feed. Let us all preach and practice birth-control, then the future generations will surely not have to face any hardships. But should you ask about improving the lot of the present generation, since it is obvious that birth-control cannot lessen the number of those already living, then our learned Profs might reply that we of the present generation have to suffer for the sins of our fathers, for their failure to heed the advice of old man Malthus. Here, of course, the Bibe would support the Prof, for it says: "And the sins of the father shall be visited upon the children and upon the children's children even unto the third generation." And who, but an ungodly bolshevik would dare question the infallibility of the holy Scripture?

Here is another gem from the same Prof. (East): "An absolute just wage distribution would not raise the average income of our submerged quarter by any large figure. This is demonstrated by the complete figures for the United States, which are now available." (P. 333.) Well, then, let us follow his argument and see what we get.

Prof. East states (p. 215) that the national income turns out to be about sixty billion dollars, or close to $6,000 per capita. Now suppose yours to be an average American family consisting of five. Your annual income should then be $3,000. Even then it would hardly compare with the income of a New York judge who recently resigned because he could not live on his salary of $17,500 per year. But aside from that, how many American workers earn an annual salary of $3,000?

Scott Nearing, after computing, on the basis of the reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission, the wages of workers employed in various industries in the United States, concludes: "In general it is fair to say that the great bulk of the men who work in the various industries of the United States receive less than $30 a week; that perhaps one man in five receives more than $40 per week, and that a very small fraction—well under a tenth, receives more than $50 per week. In the case of women, these figures are nearly twice too high. In the case of farm labor, they may be cut almost in half!"

Now you can judge for yourself how much short the pay envelope of even the highest paid worker is from the amount he would be entitled to under an absolutely just wage distribution. It should also be borne in mind that the above makes no allowance for the various periods of unemployment that all workers are subject to. It is no wonder then, that

(Continued on page 6.)

A BERLIN MAY DAY DEMONSTRATION

On Population and Birth Control

(Continued from page 5.)

so few men are able to maintain their families and that the mothers and children of ever so many workers' families are compelled to go to work in order to supplement Dad's meagre pay envelope.

But this is not all. We suspect that in computing the "just wage" Prof. East divided the total national income ($60,000,000,000) by the total number of people in the country (100,000). May we venture to assert that the income per capita would materially rise if the Prof. were to deny a share in the national income to all non-producers: Bankers, speculators, bond and mortgage holders, etc.? But then we are reminded that these people constitute the best elements in our society. They live on interest, rent and profit, the three cornerstones of modern civilization. On the basis of his computation the Prof. must of necessity come to the conclusion that "one simply must face the fact that the productive capacity of a goodly proportion of all people is too low to keep every one away from the Malthusian pressure, and that this proportion must rise in the future unless the population remains far below the economic unit." (East, p. 251.)

At this point some champion of the "submerged quarter" comes to the fore and points out to our Prof the folly of preaching birth-control to the masses when it is a known fact that the master class in each capitalist country, or the government which safeguards its interests, prohibits the dissemination of information on this topic. He points out that in the United States we have a federal law, passed in 1873, which makes it a crime to advise limitation of families. He recalls to the Prof. the famous incident of Napoleon, who, when asked by Madame De Stael regarding the greatest woman of all time, replied: "She, madame, who furnishes the most cannon food at her country's disposal." Our champion of the "submerged quarter" being somewhat bold, goes a step further and reminds the learned gentleman of the opinions held by Theodore Roosevelt on the subject of large families. Roosevelt, it will be recalled, had received a letter from some obscure woman in which she stated that she had given birth to some twelve children. She also stated that since her marriage she had had neither a new hat, nor a new coat, nor a pair of new shoes. In his reply Roosevelt commended the woman for her high services to the country, in recognition of which he sent her his photograph. But then our learned gentlemen are trying very hard to convince the ruling strata that it is to their benefit to reduce the population, just as so many of the same, or other, learned gentlemen are trying to convince the capitalists of the benefits of social reforms on the basis that a contented worker is better than a discontented one. Well, we will leave to the Profs the ungrateful task of reforming the capitalists. For ourselves we are quite certain that the capitalists can no sooner change his nature than the leopard can dispose of his spotted skin.

There is another aspect of the population problem which sadly worries the Profs. They see that the rate of reproduction among those in the "submerged quarter" is rather high while among the elite the birth rate tends to fall. (You see, the rich can afford to obtain the necessary information, laws are made for the underdogs.) In this tendency the Profs see the danger that the "submerged quarter" may ultimately displace the upper strata. Thus Prof. East says: "Society is like a candle which burns out at the top and replaces itself from the bottom."

We should like to ask the Prof, how else society can replace itself since those at the top become corrupted and degenerated as a result of opulence and indolence. We wish to tell him that as long as society is divided into producers and non-producers, it will continue to replace itself from the bottom; that only when capitalism will be replaced by a social organization in which all the members will be producers will society cease replacing itself from the bottom. But then we are treading on forbidden ground. We can almost feel the policeman's grip on us. So let's quit and return to the problem of population.

Dr. East sees danger in the exhaustion of the soil. Says he: "The matter of prime importance, however, is not the possibility of keeping up crop returns for an indefinite period when all known means are utilized. It is that continued cropping by the present system in depleting most soils rapidly and that millions of acres have already reached the point where their productiveness can only be kept up by increasing the amount of artificial fertilizers. Much of our natural agricultural wealth has thus been used with no charge made for it in the production costs. This is bad bookkeeping. No charge for depreciation means bankruptcy in any business." (P. 186.) For once we are in perfect agreement with the learned gentleman. What conclusion do we draw from it? That the need of prime importance lies in the elimination of the system responsible for this irrational use of our natural wealth. It is because we recognize the need of carrying on production with an eye to the future that we insist on the solution of the economic problem prior to all other problems, including the problem of population.

Capitalism is essentially wasteful and irrational because under it production is carried on primarily for profit. The capitalist serves but one God, Mammon. He will never permit the welfare of the future generations to curb his greed for profits. After me the deluge, is his motto. He lives only in the present. Only under a system based on production for use can we eliminate waste and utilize the natural wealth in such a manner as not to jeopardize the welfare of the future generations.

But Dr. East will not subscribe to our conclusion. The conclusion he arrives at from the danger inherent in the exhaustion of the soil, is that we must work harder. "There is conclusive evidence," says Dr. East, "that the output per man is diminishing, despite the more general adoption of crop rotation and pest control measures. This means that we must work harder for what we get."

Does not the Prof's advice sound like an editorial sermon by the N. Y. Times? Produce! Produce! has been the one cry in all capitalistic countries since the war. Produce! Produce! to make up for the vast destruction brought about by the war and to enable the rulers to prepare for the next carnage.

Recently, May 8th, some 300,000 miners in the Ruhr were locked out for refusing to work longer than 8 hours per day (7 hours underground). Produce! or you are traitors to your country. Produce! or civilization is in danger.

Should you question the Prof as to why the workers should exert themselves to increase production since with every increase in their productive capacity they but forge heavier chains for themselves and bring greater misery on themselves and their families, the Doc will presumably fall back on the Bible and quote the famous passage, "The poor always ye have with ye." You see, according to the Prof no system of production can do away with poverty; there always were and there always will be rich and poor. One wonders whether there is not a case in which the wish is father to the thought. For if you do away with poverty, who will do the dirty work for the elegant gentleman and the pink-finger ladies?

As far back as 1728 another defender of rich against the "envious poor" said: ". . . it is manifest that, in a free nation, where slaves are not allowed, of the surest wealth consists in a multitude of laborous poor; for besides, that they are the never failing nursery of fleets and armies, without them there could be no enjoyment, and no product of any county could be valuable. To make the society happy and people easier under the meanest circumstances it is requisite that great numbers of them should be ignorant as well as poor; knowledge both enlarges and multiplies our desires, and the fewer things a man wishes for, the more easily his necessities may be supplied." (Bernard De Mandeville: "The Fables and the Bees," 5th edition, London 1728, p. 328.)

What Sir Maudeville stated in a blunt, simple manner, the modern Profs state in more subtle fashion. Like Sir Maudeville, the modern Docs believe in giving the laboring poor enough of the means of subsistence to keep them from revolting and yet so little that they will continually spend what they get and thus be driven by necessity to toil constantly for the rich.

An Incident in the Life of Leon Trotsky

(Translated from the Spanish by Harrison George.)

TWO inspectors of police were waiting me in my apartment. One of small stature, almost old, flat-nosed, the slave type, but a little finer; the other large, bald, of some forty-five years, and black as tar. On both their clothes hung badly, and when they spoke they gestured in the fashion of a military salute. The old one had an ingratiating education.

"You will help us in our task (in other words, you will make no resistance) and in exchange, at arrival at the Spanish frontier we will not deliver you to the Spanish police, but leave you free."

And turning to my wife:

"Madame can present herself tomorrow before the prefect," (to obtain authority to rejoin me).

While I bade farewell to my wife and friends, the police discreetly kept behind the door. Downstairs, near the automobile waited two agents of the secret police. The inspectors had taken my bags and were carrying them. At departure the old one removed his hat several times:

"Pardon me, madame!"

The agent that had followed me tirelessly for two months, now, in a very friendly manner, arranged the robe about us. The door of the motor closed and we departed.

The express. A third-class car. We installed ourselves in a compartment and made the usual provisions. The old inspector was a geographer. Talked of Tomsk, of Irkutsk, of Kazan, of Novgorod, of the Fair there . . . Knew Spain and spoke Spanish. The other, the big negro, for a long time remained without saying a word, seated apart. But suddenly, he began:

"The Latin race tramps around on the same spot. The others progress," he said, while cutting a slice of ham which he held in a hairy hand of doubtful cleanliness and adorned with heavy rings.

"What have we in literature? Decadence? Decadence in all things. In all things. In philosophy the same. Since Descartes and Pascal there is nothing. The Latin race tramps around on the same spot!"

Astonished, I waited the continuation, but he shut up and began chewing his ham sandwich.

"You had a Tolstoi, but Ibsen is more comprehensible to us than Tolstoi." And he shut anew.

The old one pricked by this allusion to science, began to explain to me the importance of the Trans-Siberian Railroad. And then, completing, and to soften pessimistic conclusions of his colleague, he added:

"Indeed, we lack initiative. All wish to be functionaries. It is sad, but undeniable."

I was listening without interest.

It was now night and outside nothing could be seen. I was nervous and had not slept. The conversation renewed. It circled around my expulsion and about the surveillance of which I had been the object in Paris. The two inspectors knew all the details by being those who shadowed me. This theme excited them.

"To shadow?" said the old one, "but that is impossible now. It is not efficacious except when the subject knows nothing of it. True? But with the communications of today it is really impossible. The Metropolitan (the Paris subway) kills vigilance. It should be prohibited to those under surveillance — they should not take the Metro. Only then would it be possible to shadow anyone."

The black grinned. The old one, calming himself, intervened.

'Frequently we watch without, unfortunately, knowing why."

"We, the police, are sceptics," suddenly declared the black. "You have your ideas; we must attend to that which exists. Let us take, for example, the great revolution. What a movement of ideas! The encyclopedists, Jean Jacques and Voltaire! And fourteen years after the revolution the people were more miserable than ever. We read Laine; Jaures reproached Jules Ferry that his government was not advancing. Ferry answered: Governments are never the clarions of revolution. And it is correct. We police are, by our function, conservatives. Skepticism is the only philosophy that fits well to our profession. At final account, nobody freely picks his road. Free will does not exist. All is foreseen by the march of things."

And he began, skeptically, to drink red wine from the common bottle. And then, corking it:

"Renan said that new ideas come always far too early. And it is true."

But at saying this, he gazed suspiciously at my hand that I had put casually on the latch of the compartment door. To tranquilize him, I stuck my hand in my pocket.

We reached Bordeaux, capital of Vin Rouge (red wine) and, yesterday, the provincial capital of France when the enemy neared Paris. The watchword of the French bourgeois: "The frontier on the Rhine or the capital in Bordeau."

"I accompanied, by this same road, Senor Pablo Iglesias, chief of Spanish Socialists, when he was expelled from France," said the old one. "We made a very pleasant trip and chatted agreeably. A charming man."

"To us, the police, as to the valets, there are no great men," declared the black. "And at the same time, they always need us. The regimes change. We remain."

We reached the last French station, Hendais.

"There lived Derrulede, our romantic citizen. For him it was sufficient to see the mountains of France. A real Don Quixote in his Spanish corner." The black smiled indulgently.

"I could live here forever," said the old one, "in a cottage, and never would tire of watching the sea all day. . . . Ah! pardon me, monsieu. . . Accompany me to the station commissioner."

In the station of Irun, a French gendarme started to question me, but my companion gave him some sort of a masonic signal. "Understood, understood," answered the gendarme, and drew away to wash his hands at a spigot to show a complete indifference. But he could not contain himself; he looked me over anew and asked the skeptic: "And where is the other?"—"There, with the special commissioner," replied the black. "He must know everything," he added in a low voice, bending towards me.

With rapid steps he conducted me toward the interminable corridors of the station.

"It was done discreetly, is it not true?" he said. "With the tramway you are able to go to Irun and to San Sebastian. You must pass as a tourist and not awaken the suspicions of the Spanish police, who are very distrustful. And now, already I know you not! True?"—

And we parted politely.

(Finis.)

The Man Who Believed Himself a Rooster

"I wonder," said Fellow-worker A to Fellow-worker B, as they strolled inside the inclosure with that leisurely nowhere-to-go sort of gait prisoners fall into, "I wonder just what that little old button with three stars and the three letters, I. W. W., stands for now-a-days."

"If you mean that for a question," replied B, "I'll tell the world it stands for a good deal now-a-days. That's sufficiently ambiguous to merit me being crowned with the same laurel as the present editor of Solidarity," he added urbanely.

"Well," rejoined A, "there's some doubt if it's laurel or poison oak he's wearing. But, seriously, I'm hanged if I'd know the I. W. W. now for the one I joined and went to jail for. These three stars once stood for 'Education, Organization and Emancipation.' And the three letters meant the 'Industrial Workers of the World.' And that meant a lot of other things, good things. Industrial unionism to start with, but that was only a tool to work with and not the end—not the whole aim. It was only a 'road to freedom' not freedom itself, a tool of the coming revolution, not the revolution itself and intoto. Now the chairman of the G. E. B. says that all 'highbrow books of Marxian ideas' should be burned—that's 'Education' Then all workers' organizations who want to organize with us are refused and insulted, from the Canadian Lumber Workers to the Red Labor Union International. And that's our 'Organization,' I suppose. And then there was the third star that stood for 'Emancipation.' Now the same bunch that would give us 'Education' without Marx's books—without any books in fact—say, "What we want is to settle immediate problems.' Which really means that they are afraid to discuss even the revolutionary problems of today in the spirit of the I. W. W. They pretend to be theoretically opposed to the Soviets when really they're only scared of going to jail if they indorsed them. But is all this—and a thousand other things—revolutionary? For they still cling to that sacred word. Tell me, are we still the vanguard and not the camp followers, of the American revolution? Is this what Joe Hill and Frank Little died for? Are we still the I. W. W.?

"Of course," gravely replied B. "We are and eternally will be I. W. W. Wobbly etiquette never concedes anything, I swear it to you, to the High Priest Sandgren. You say you know not what. But it is all very simple. Listen! Once upon a time, there lived (according to the story told me in my infancy) not far from my birthplace in Russia, a youth by the name of Atanasic Kyrilovitch Makharof. This Makharof was of bad head, as happens with the youth of all lands. He launched himself into all the vices with as great a zest as later he plunged into remorse for them. In time, he studied Kropotkin and spoke of giving his life to his fellow-men.

"At the end he became completely deranged, crazy. Crazy enough to lock up. And he was locked up, really, in a sanitarium at Simferopol. All he did was—what do you think! He imagined himself turned into a rooster! He ran thru the garden of the asylum looking for worms, and when he found one he seized it with his toes, that he believed to be claws, and carried it to his mouth, which he believed was a beak; and cried out with all his might — 'Cock-a-doodle-doo, cock-a-doodle-doo.' The insane have peculiar abilities; you or I would have great difficulty in raising our toes to our mouths; but he, this deranged chap, did it easily from the first.

Poor Makharof was of a family of 'tchinovniks'—officials—very rich, and respected by all the district. He was an only son, and his condition saddened his father and mother. His father went to visit the asylum for a week and wept bitterly at always seeing his son in the same state of mind. He said to the doctor:

"'Doctor, is there no way of helping it? I would give anything I have for his health, and it would be a cure that would cause you to be honored all over the world.'

"At last the doctor replied:

"'There is only one way. And I do not know if it would succeed, but we can try. It is necessary tho, to find someone who may be able to act as much like a rooster as he does.'

"'I don't see,' replied the father, what good would come of that.'

"'I told you that all we are able to do is to experiment, responded the doctor.'

"At last they found an acrobat who consented to attempt the cure. He scratched the sand with his foot perfectly; he found, or pretended to find something to raise to his lips; he leaped upon a chair, from there to a table, waving his arms as if they were wings, and screaming—'Cock-a-doodle-doo.' Makharof was astonished, and —at first—much pleased. There were now two roosters in the establishment and as there were no hens there was no reason for combat. He and his colleague observed the best of 'chicken manners' and sang triumphal songs. In fact, they perfected themselves, each attaining the ideal of the species 'rooster.'

"However, by reason of seeing his companion doing the same as he did, and surpassing him, Makharof became a bit weary.

"'Listen,' he said to the acrobat, 'suppose we no longer climb on the table. We are roosters. Certainly, I believe that we are roosters. I would not concede the least doubt in that matter. But let us not climb on the table!'

"Some days later he burst out:

"'Why should we go looking for worms? That is no good! . . . Between ourselves, that is no good! Let us only pretend it. Look! See how I do it! See how I raise my foot. How I open my beak! Cock-a-doodle-doo! Cock-a-doodle-doo! Raise your foot! . . . We do that only. Cock-a-doodle-doo!'

"'Cock-a-doodle-doo,' responded the acrobat.

"Sometime afterward, Makharof even proposed:

"'We are roosters; nothing is more certain. If anyone tried to assert we are not, I would bury my spurs in his face. But, old friend, if you only knew how idiotic you look when you raise your foot! . . . Let us only crow—Cock-a-doodle-doo!'

"'Cock-a-doodle-doo!' responded the acrobat.

"At last Makharof arrived at this:

"'Cock-a-doodle-doo is absolutely useless! . . . Let us have no more cock-a-doodle-doo! This does not stop us from being roosters. Nothing is more certain. We are and shall always continue to be roosters! . . . Never will we say anything different to anyone . . . But, do you know, I feel the desire for going out to walk around the city.'

"Thus it was that Makharof finally left the asylum. He married and became a man the same as any other. Sometimes he met the acrobat. Then he would say to him, almost without moving his lips:

"'But we are yet, and always, roosters.'

"However, by reason of always living as a man and not as a rooster he ended by completely forgetting that he was a rooster. Or well it was that he recalled it only in dreams, at night, when he was in bed—all of a sudden he would say—'Cock-a-doodle-doo!'

"And his wife, startled into wakefulness, would ask:—

"'What ails you?'

"Always he replied—'Nothing. Don't worry yourself.'

"He died, finally, with the reputation of a good citizen, of peaceful habits and conventional manners.

B stopped and looked thoughtfully at a bird flying over the wall.

"Well, now," said A, after a pause, "what is the meaning of this fable, fellow-worker?"

"We are roosters," affirmed B. "We are always roosters; or, if you wish, I. W. W., revolutionary industrial unionists, advocates of Education, Organization and Emancipation. Never will we say anything different to any one."

But just then the bugle blew—"recall"—and both fell in line to shuffle into their cells.

(Finis.)

H. G. LEAVENWORTH.

The Philistine Discourseth

(Continued from page 2)

talism has destroyed the English national docks, has made it impossible to exploit the coal mines in a rational manner, etc. Ilyitch was familiar with the language of facts and figures.

"I confess," concludes Mr. Wells unexpectedly, "it was very difficult for me to argue against him." What does this mean? Is it the beginning of the capitulation of evolutionary Collectivism before the logic of Marxism? No, no, "abandon all hope!" This phrase, which at the first glance appears unexpected, does not occur by mere chance; it forms part of the system, it bears a strictly outspoken Fabian, evolutionary, pedagogic character. It is expressed with an eye to the English capitalists, bankers, lords and their ministers. Wells says to them: "Just see, you behave so badly, so destructively, so egotistically, that in my discussion with the Kremlin Dreamer I found it difficult to defend the principles of my evolutionary Collectivism. Listen to reason, take every week a Fabian bath, become civilized, proceed along the path of progress." Thus the devout confession of Wells is not the beginning of self-criticism, but merely the continuation of the educational work on this same capitalist society which has emerged from the imperialist war and the peace of Versailles—perfected, moralized and Fabianized.

It is not without a feeling of benevolent patronage that Wells remarks concerning Lenin: "His faith in his cause is unbounded." There is no need to dispute this. What is true is true. This fund of faith gave him, among other things, the patience to converse during those depressing months of the blockade with every foreigner who might be able to serve even as an indirect means of communication between Russia and the west. Such was the conversation Lenin had with Wells.

It was quite otherwise when he spoke with English workers who came to him. He fraternized with them in the most hearty manner. He at once learned and taught. But with Wells the conversation, by reason of its very nature, had a half enforced diplomatic character. "Our conversation ended without definite result," concludes the author. In other words the encounter between evolutionary Collectivism and Marxism ended this time in nothing. Wells took his departure for England and Lenin remained in the Kremlin. Wells wrote a series of choice articles for the consumption of the bourgeois public and Lenin, shaking his head, repeated: "There goes a real petty bourgeois! Good gracious, what a Philistine!"

But, one may ask, why on earth have I, almost four years afterwards, reverted to such a trifling article by Wells. The fact that his article has been reproduced in one of the books devoted to the death of Lenin is no sufficient justification. It is likewise no sufficient justification that these lines were written by me in Sukhum while undergoing a cure there. But I have more serious reasons. In England at the present moment the party of Mr. Wells is in power, led by illustrious representatives of evolutionary Collectivism. And it seems to me—I think not without reason— that the lines written by Wells concerning Lenin reveal to us better than many other things, the soul of the leading strata of the English Labor Party; taken as a whole Wells is not the worst of the bunch. How hopelessly behind the times these people are, how burdened with the heavy leaden weight of bourgois prejudices! Their arrogance—the belated reflex of the great historical role of the English bourgeoisie—prevents them from penetrating in a proper way into the life of other nations, into new ideological phenomena, into the historical process which is sweeping over their heads. Narrow-minded followers of routine, empiricists wearing the blinkers of bourgeois public opinion, they carry themselves and their prejudices into the whole world and are careful not to notice anything around them but only their own persons. Lenin had lived in all the countries of Europe; had made himself master of foreign languages; had read, studied, and listened; made himself familiar with things, compared and generalized. Standing at the head of a great revolutionary country, he omitted no occasion to learn conscientiously and carefully, to ask for information and news. He followed unweariedly the life of the whole world. He both read and spoke German, French and English with ease and also read Italian. In the last years of his life, when overburdened with work, he surreptitiously, during the sittings of the Political Bureau, studied a Czechish grammar in order to come into first-hand contact with the workers' movement of Czecho - Slovakia; we sometimes "caught" him at this when he, not without some slight embarrassment, passed it off with a laugh and apologized . . . And there on the other hand we have Mr. Wells, incarnating that kind of pseudo-educated, narrow-minded petty bourgeois, who look around with the intention of seeing nothing and who consider that they have nothing to learn as they feel quite assured with their inherited stock of prejudices. And Mr. MacDonald, who represents a more solid and sober puritan variety of the same type, pacifies bourgeois public opinion: We have fought against Moscow and we have vanquished Moscow. They have vanquished Moscow? These are indeed wretched "little men" no matter how tall physically! Today even after all that has transpired, they know nothing whatever about their own tomorrow. Liberal and conservative business people without the least difficulty bait traps for these "evolutionary" socialist pedants who are now in office, compromise them and intentionally prepare their downfall—not only as ministers, but also as politicians. Simultaneously—altho far less intentionally—they prepare for the coming to power of the English Marxists. Yes, indeed, of the Marxists, "of the weary fanatics of the class struggle." For the English social revolution will also proceed in accordance with the laws laid down by Marx.

Mr. Wells, with his characteristic, pudding-heavy wit, once threatened to take a pair of scissors and trim the "doctrinaire" hair and beard of Marx and to render him English and repectable: to Fabianize him. But nothing has come of this and nothing ever will come of it. Marx will remain Marx just as Lenin has remained Lenin after Wells had subjected him for an hour to the tormenting effects of a blunt razor. And we venture to predict in the not distant future, there will be erected in London, in Trafalgar Square for example, two statues standing side by side: Karl Marx and Vladimir Lenin. The English proletarians will say to their children: "What a good job it is that no little pygmies of the Labor Party succeeded in trimming the hair or shaving the beard of these two giants!"

In anticipation of these days, which I myself will endeavor to see, I close my eyes for a moment and distinctly see before me the figure of Lenin in his armchair, the same chair in which Wells saw him, and I hear—on the day following or perhaps on the day of the conversation with Wells—the words, accompanied by a heavy gasp: "Ugh! What a petty bourgeois! What a Philistine!"

IMPRESSIONS OF RUSSIA

(Continued from page 1.)

might be able to increase their work. The process of selection is not yet completed, but much of the lazy loitering of olden times is gone. The second task was to draw back to the cities and to the industrial establishments those tens of thousands of skilled workers who, in times of turmoil and disorganization, had either gone to the native villages to feed on the fruit of the earth, or had drifted into some other occupation. This recall of the brains and skill of the shops could be accomplished only by increasing the wages of industrial labor and by making factory life attractive. The task has now been completed. The personnel of the factories has undergone a remarkable change. Unskilled and semi-skilled workers who had manned unbefitting jobs since the war, when production of war supplies and munitions made expansion of factories imperative, have now been relegated to the work they are best capable of doing. The skilled workers are being given the most responsible places. Technical schools are being opened everywhere to increase the efficiency of labor. Better pay, which often reaches pre-war proportions and which in present conditions means much more than it meant ten years ago, is a good stimulus to production. Russia is still poor, very poor, it is only in the process of the initial accumulation of capital. But the skeleton of the industrial organization has been reconstructed, it stands now firmly on the Russian ground. It has acquired a great number of experienced managers, and the possibilities in Russian natural resources and in the energy of a united working class in possession of state power, are incalculable.

Present Russia is an optimistic country. There is something which bends to ground the head of an average German even if he makes a living. There is something that straightens the back of the Russian worker and makes him look hopefully sturdy even if out of work. This "something" is the consciousness of conquered freedom, of independence, of being one's own master, of better times coming. In no city East of the Rhine is there as much vitality, as much physical vigor and youthfullness as I have found in Moscow. I am told that the same is true about all other cities of the vast Union. You walk out into the suburbs of the city, you enter the streets which are thickly populated by factory workers, you visit clubs, circles, theatricals, eating places, and everywhere you find crowds of vigorous young people, poorly but not shabbily dressed, sober, gay, self-assured, alert, intelligent, keenly interested in the life of their plant, their branch of industry, their union, their club, their Soviet, their government and also in the international situation. No workers have such an understanding of and such an interest in the world situation as have the Russian workers. But we are not so much interested here in the mind as in the body of the Russian proletariat. The revolution has certainly hardened those millions of men and women. They have gone thru years of half a pound of bread as daily rations, years of typhoid fever, cholera, pneumonia, Volga starvation; they have fought on numerous fronts scantily clad in the bitterest cold; they have looked death into the face so many times that they are no more afraid of anything. The younger set has grown up under the conditions of war and revolution. Hard times are natural to them. Now life turns to them its smiling face. There is food. There is heat. There is a minimum of clothing. There is education. There is work controlled by the workers themselves. There is no master. There is a whole country, a tremendous rich and beautiful country to develop and to own. There is a world to conquer, not for the individual, but for the collective body thru collective effort. The individual worker may not think exactly in these terms (tho he is wide awake and he has learned to think broadly and clearly) but he feels it. It is in the air. It speaks eloquently from the song and the movements of your group of "Komsoniols" (Young Communists) who march by the factory wall for their regular hike into the fields; it hovers over that bunch of young working girls who, books in hand, hurry to their weekly class, where they receive instruction in "Leninism"; it sparkles in the eyes of mature workers who walk to the meeting of the Factory Committee. Their life is not easy. An American worker does not put up with as little as they receive. Some stranger who has no understanding of the revolution, would, of course, think their life miserable compared with the life of their Western brothers. Well, they know better.

Russia is a country of feverish intellectual activity. I claim to have an eye for books. And I wish to state that I am stunned, overwhelmed by the amount and the variety of books that have been thrown on the market in the last two years and are being poured in great torrents at present. Sometimes I have the feeling that Russia is doing nothing but printing and publishing books. There are literally hundreds of bookshops in Moscow. There are scores of agencies serving the provinces. There are publishing houses in every important provincial center. There is hardly a thoroughfare in Moscow, but I find in it a dozen or so bookshops. "Who is reading all these books?' I asked my friend, the chief of the business sector of the Government Publishing Office. The reply was, "Everybody." Most of the books are being purchased by individual readers, but loads are also being acquired by libraries and institutions. The ordinary book is unbound tho well printed, and its price is somewhere between 50 cents and one dollar. There are, however, many expensive books, art books, de luxe editions of authors. There is a market for every one. "The Revolution," said to me Comrade Losovsky, "has been the big historic plow that crossed and recrossed the fertile soil of the nation and made it receptive for intellectual seeds. What we witness now is only the beginning. What we shall accomplish in three years, is beyond imagination."

The public press is keeping pace with the output of books. The press has nearly approached the pre-war daily circulation, which, deducting from the latter the black hundred papers and the numerous official publications which nobody ever reads, puts the press of today numerically much stronger than it ever was in Russia. Magazines of all kinds of readableness and for all occupations, professions, sexes, and ages, also feature this era of reconstruction. All streets are alive with newspaper Kiosks which also sell popular books in profusion. Of the books, the literature on Lenin must be mentioned. It is no exaggeration to say that whole libraries has been published about Lenin, beginning from heavy volumes three to four hundred pages strong and down to small pamphlets and picture books. No nation ever loved a leader the way Russia loves and reveres Lenin. Lenin in death is a greater reality to the Russian workers and peasants than he even was when he lived among them.

The Russian masses love Lenin, and next to his memory they love their proletarian country. Let anybody dare put a hand on their Soviet Republic, there will be such a conflagration, such an outburst of fighting energy as the world has never witnessed heretofore. This I felt yesterday when the masses demonstrated in protest against the Germans' silly invasion of the Soviet Trade Mission in Berlin. This one feels when one comes in touch with the Russian workers and Red Army men. The Soviet Republic stands firm as a rock on the love and devotion of the working masses.

MOSCOW, May 12, 1924.

Sixth Annual PICNIC

Given by

UNITED WORKERS' SUNDAY SCHOOLS

OF CHICAGO

Saturday, June 21, 1924, at 2 P. M.

AT BRAND'S PARK, 3259 Elston Avenue

Near California and Belmont Aves.

Games For Children—Concert—Dancing

Tickets in Advance 35 Cents — At gate 50 Cents

SOVIET RUSSIA PICTORIAL

EACH ISSUE

An invaluable record of Labor's progress in Soviet Russia and the world over.

Authentic information and feature articles from the pens of the best writers—made more interesting by

NUMEROUS AND SPLENDID PHOTOGRAPHS

SUBSCRIPTION

$2.00 a Year — $1.00 Six Months

SOVIET RUSSIA PICTORIAL,
19 So. Lincoln St., Chicago, Ill.

NAME .....

STREET NO. .....

CITY ..... STATE.....D.

Penetrating Analysis! Burning Criticism! Sound Logic!

THE NEW AND SIGNIFICANT BOOK

ENTITLED

The World's Trade Union Movement

By A. LOSOVSKY

General Secretary of the Red International of Labor Unions

In this book, published in March at Moscow, and now made available to American readers, the leader of 13,000,000 trade unionists depicts, dissects, and measures the relation of forces developed before, during, and since the war.

The first book ever written dealing so comprehensively with this vital subject

William Z. Foster says:

"Here are described every political, economic, and organizational force of the world's trade unions, and their role in the fight, developed since the war, between Reformists and Revolutionists."

112 PAGES, STIFF PAPER COVER, WITH PHOTO OF AUTHOR.

FIFTY CENTS PER COPY.

Bundle orders of ten or more, 35 cents each, with special rate on larger orders.

Trade Union Educational League,

1113 Washington Blvd. Chicago, Ill.

A special edition of this book has also been published for the Workers Party. Branches and members of the party are expected to place their orders with the literature department at the same address.

FOR RENT.

Furnished house for a couple or two girls for the summer. I am leaving for the country. Could spare room if desired after my return. H. Robbin, 2703 Potomac Ave., Armitage 7879.

MAC'S BOOK STORE
27 JOHN R STREET
DETROIT
Full line of Sociological and Labor Literature.
Periodicals and Newspapers

"KOMMENTS ON THE KU KLUX KLAN"
The deeper meaning of Wizard, Dragon, Titan, Cyplops, Hydras, Furies, etc. A complete expose. Secret work, oath, and constitution. The klan is dead the minute the people understand it. This book explains all. You may now look under the sheet. One dozen books, $1.00; 15c per copy. Order from—John T. Cooper, Checotah, Okla.—Agents wanted.
Mention The Daily Worker

REDLAND POEMS
By Bella N. Zilberman.
The New Way of Hope—Lunacy under Capitalism,
by Beila Ly Hinka, 50c.
Send stamps to Coast to Coast Book Shop, 1729 Caton Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

Res. 1632 S. Trumbull Ave.
Phone Rockwell 5050
MORDECAI SHULMAN
ATTORNEY-AT-LAW
701 Association Building
19 S. La Salle Street CHICAGO
Dearborn 3657 Central 4945-4947

PITTSBURGH, PA.
DR. RASNICK
DENTIST
Rendering Expert Dental Service for 20 Years
445 SMITHFIELD ST., Near 7th Ave.
1627 CENTER AVE., Cor. Arthur St.

Phone Spaulding 4670
ASHER B. PORTNOY & CO.
Painters and Decorators
PAINTERS' SUPPLIES
Estimates on New and Old Work
2619 MILWAUKEE AVE., CHICAGO

Furnishings
LADIES'
MEN'S
INFANTS'
Trade Where Your Money Buys the Most.
Martin's
723 West North Avenue
East of Halsted St.